THE LIBERTARIAN REVIEW

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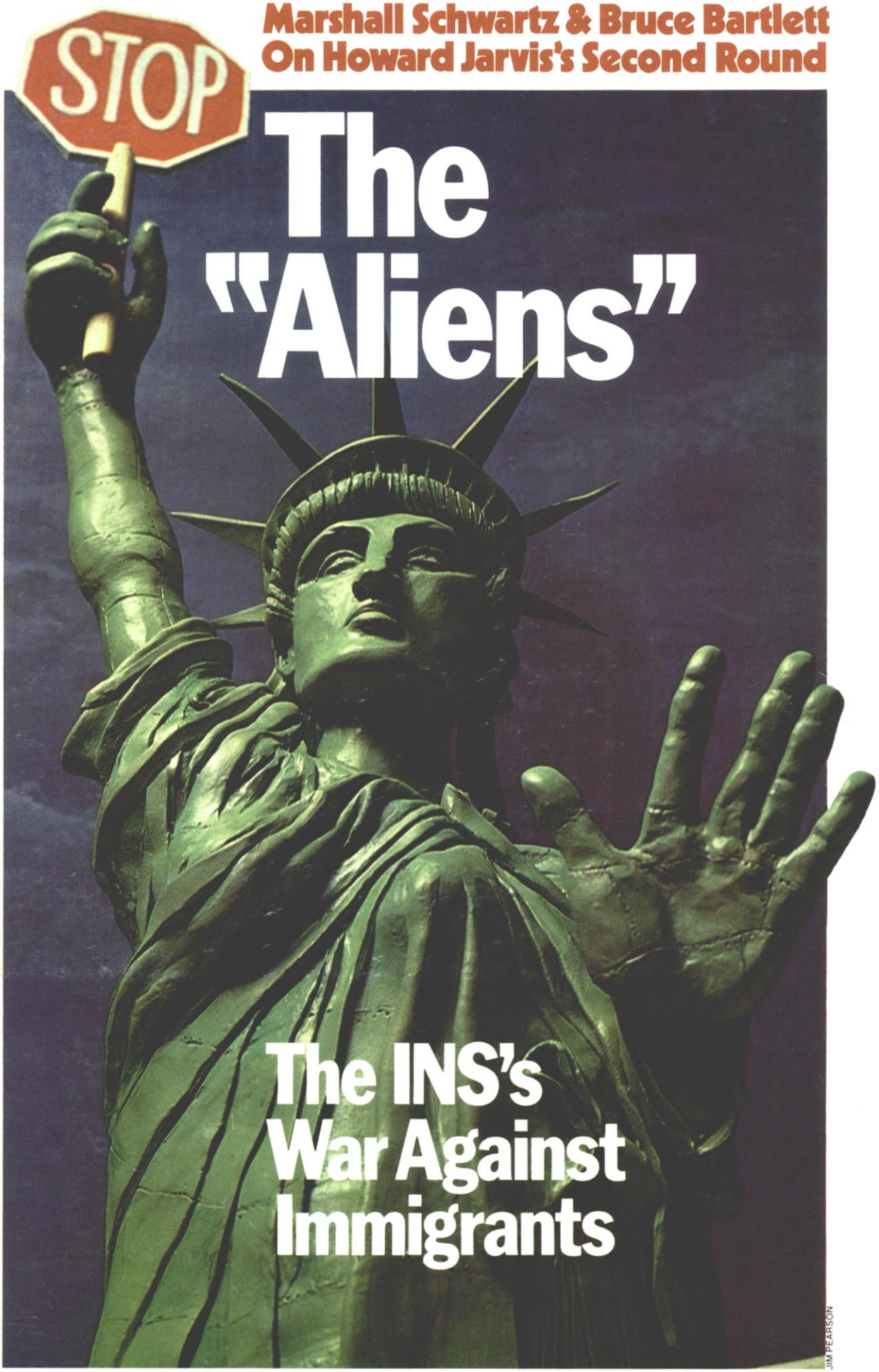
LIBERTARIAN

Marshall Schwartz & Bruce Bartlett
On Howard Jarvis's Second Round



The "Aliens"

The INS's War Against Immigrants

JIM PEARSON

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HOW TO REDUCE THE DANGER OF A TAX AUDIT

"I'd do almost anything, even *over* pay my taxes, to avoid having the IRS audit my return." A surprising number of taxpayers feel this way.

But this attitude is more usual: "I minimize my taxes as much as I dare — but I also worry about getting slapped with a tax audit."

Then there's a third attitude, more common than you might think: "Those SOBs don't scare me. I'll fight them all the way."

Which attitude resembles your own? Whichever it is, if you earn $25,000 a year... or if you own a house or some other asset that interests the tax collector, there's a new Report you should see:

THE TAXPAYER'S AUDIT SURVIVAL MANUAL

How to Avoid an IRS Audit First and Foremost — And How to Survive One If They Catch You

The authors? You won't find two who know more about this problem. Charles W. Schoeneman, formerly with the U.S. Tax Court, is now a Washington tax attorney (with an imposing client list). Vernon K. Jacobs, nationally known tax consultant and lecturer, is the author of *Taxpayers' Counterattack* and editor of the consumer's tax service, TAX ANGLES (and, therefore, a master at reducing tax gobbledygook to plain English).

Your Chances of Getting Audited

The authors give you the latest figures, broken down by income... the latest reports on tax delinquents, and how many had their property seized. They follow your tax return, step by step, throught the IRS bureaucracy. This "tour" gives you precious hints on how to lessen your chance of an audit. For example:

- How to choose a tax advisor. (Careful: the one you pick might *cause* you to be examined.)
- Fearsome weapons the feds can use: liens, levies, seizures. What each one means. How they hurt you in *other* ways.
- One powerful weapon to get the IRS to cut your tax deficiency. (Here, the odds are in *your* favor.)
- What to do if a tax agent shows up at your door unannounced.
- How to make the tax man suspicious: more than 25 signals that suggest tax fraud. Signals given off by the tax man that hint at a criminal investigation.
- When the exam period ends, collection begins. Do you have any recourse then?

Valuable Extras

- Official IRS List of Unallowable Deductions
- IRS Guidelines for Auditing Professionals
- 20 charts, illustrations, IRS forms
- Map of IRS districts

- Encouraging note: the double screening your return must pass before you get audited.
- Should you round off your figures?
- The awesome legal powers of Special Agents and Revenue Agents. How they differ.
- Can your accountant be required to testify against you? How about your wife? Your children? Can your accountant be forced to produce your tax records?
- Useful literature you can get free from the U.S. Tax Court.
- True or false: when a taxpayer beats a criminal rap, he may still owe a big tax bill.
- Should you go before the IRS yourself, or send your tax advisor? 3 possibilities.
- One reason not to file an amended return.
- Your chances when you appeal (better than you think).
- Form 870: does it ever pay to sign it on the spot?
- When the IRS suspects fraud: what goes on behind the scenes.
- Should you ever admit a mistake? A doubtful deduction?
- What are the mathematical chances of being prosecuted for a tax crime? Of being convicted? Of going to jail?
- Priceless advice on how to conduct yourself during the audit. Tips that help it run *your* way. Dangers to avoid.
- Why the odds against you aren't so bad after all.
- When is the best time to file — early, late, or just under the wire?

One thing that make an IRS audit so unsettling: much of it operates outside the American legal system. The tax bureaucrats assess what they will. The taxpayer must *prove* his deductions: guilty till proven innocent. It *is* an adversary situation — and the tax collector holds all the guns. So if you pay a sizable tax bill, you owe it to yourself to see how far you can legally minimize your taxes — and what risks you may be taking at each step.

The stakes are high. In 1978, the average *extra* assessment gathered in by the IRS came to $3,898. It is almost certain to soar over $4,000 for 1979 returns — and keep soaring. This new *Manual* comes just in time.

FREE EXAMINATION

The *Manual*, frankly, is prepared for those who make $25,000 or more... who can save the most... who have the most to lose. It is tax-deductible and comes as a typewritten Special Report for $35 postpaid, and is returnable for a *full* refund within 30 days.

Nothing can *guarantee* you won't be audited. Sometimes it's just bad luck. But if you don't agree that the *Manual* cuts your chances of an audit, just send it back to Alexandria House Books, 901 N. Washington Street, Alexandria, VA 22314. You'll get your $35 back, and no questions asked.

How to get this Special Report FREE

You may take this $35 Report FREE with a two-year subscription to TAX ANGLES, the only monthly service that shows executives, owners of small businesses, professionals and investors how to cut their taxes *legally*. Just check the box in the coupon and send $79 for 24 issues (two years). GUARANTEE: Read 4 issues. If TAX ANGLES isn't worth many times its modest price in tax savings, just tell us to cancel after 4 issues. We'll send you a complete refund for the entire unused portion of your subscription — and you keep the *Manual* FREE.

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THE LIBERTARIAN REVIEW

June 1980
Volume 9, No.6

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Guardians at the gate

by Justin Raimondo

Immigration and Naturalization Service agents are fighting a ruthless, irrational and losing war against Mexican immigrants, turning our southern border into a new Vietnam—with the full support of the Ku Klux Klan, Cesar Chavez and certain prominent "environmentalists."

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by Marshall E. Schwartz

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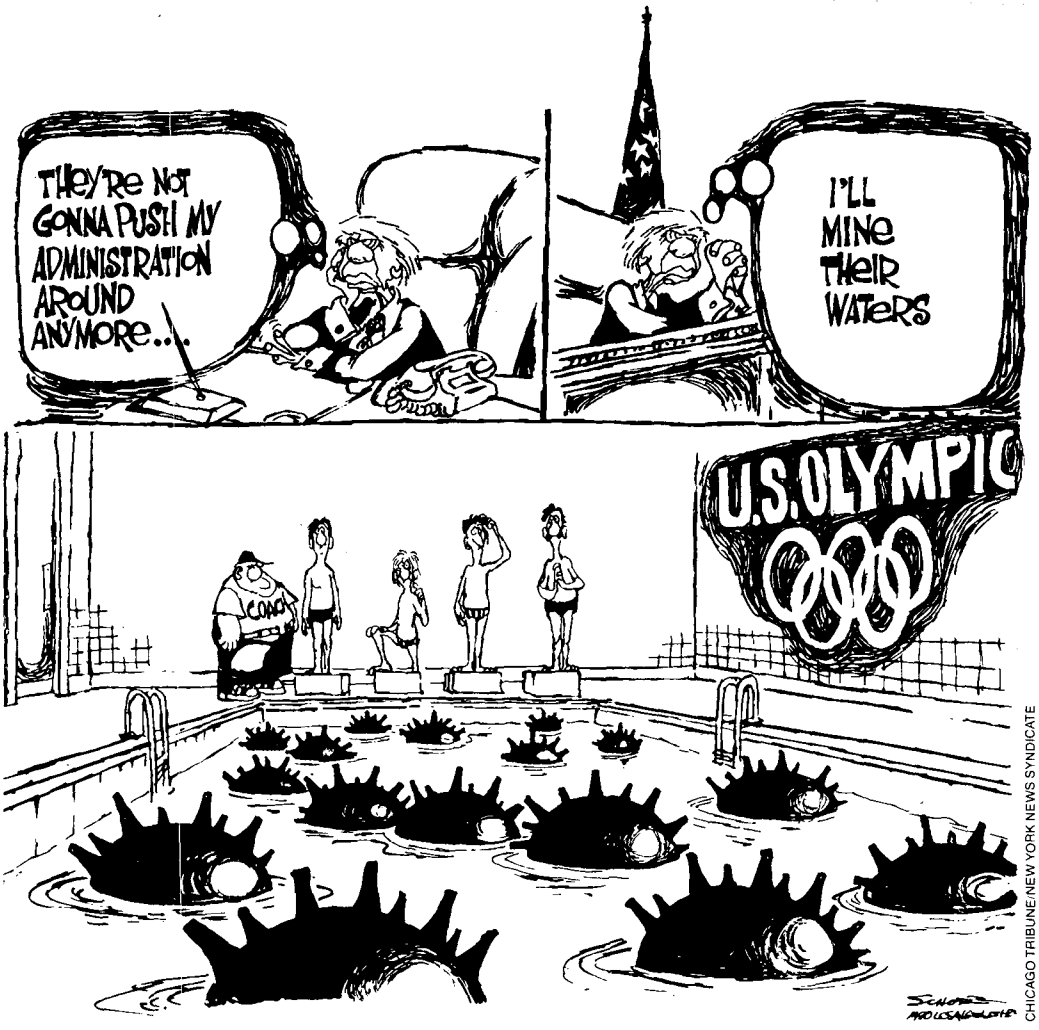
OPENING SHOTS


THEY'RE NOT GONNA PUSH MY ADMINISTRATION AROUND ANYMORE...
I'LL MINE THEIR WATERS
U.S. OLYMPIC
COACH
CHICAGO TRIBUNE/NEW YORK NEWS SYNDICATE

BILL BIRMINGHAM

SURELY YOU REMEMber the Susan B. Anthony dollar: sort of a quarter with pretensions, bearing the great suffragette's profile. "It is about time that women be given their proper recognition in this all-important phase of our national life," the Secretary of the Treasury intoned when it was first issued last year. The American public was less enthusiastic, and the Treasury finally shut down its stamping mills with some 770 million Susies in non-circulation. *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Herb Caen has found one use for the Susie, however: in the bowels of San Francisco's raunchy Tenderloin district is a place called The Film Den which offers "Fantasy in Flesh." Feed coins to a slot and the curtains part, revealing an unclothed lady with whom one may chat at a cost of one dollar for ninety seconds. Not only can one operate this slut machine (as Caen calls it) with the Susie, it will accept nothing else. It's enough to make Gloria Steinem embrace the gold standard.

A very good point, from an unlikely source: "From his very first official call for a boycott of the Moscow Olympics," declared the Soviet news agency Tass in a March 24 editorial, Carter "has actually embarked on the path of violating the rights of American athletes.... One can hardly treat athletes more high-handedly and cruelly than by depriving them of their basic rights, without which sport is senseless—the right to compete with other top athletes; moreover, at such a world festival of sports as the Olympic Games." Meanwhile, a proposal by U.S. Olympians that they go to the Moscow Games but boycott the awards ceremonies got a brusque dismissal from the White House. "It's obviously unacceptable," sniffed one White House aide. "The President has made his decision."

The March 31 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* has one of those insipid bar graphs showing "Where U.S. Billions Have Gone" abroad, which almost manages to make the subject boring. And this is no mean feat, considering that by State Department figures the U.S. taxpayer has sent $194,560,000,000—that's 194 *billion*, if you've lost track of the zeroes—in military and economic aid o'er the briny since 1946 ("through Sept. 30, 1979"). Champion subsidy-suckers have been the Defenders of Freedom in Vietnam, who lapped up $22,877,000,000 (lesser Defenders in Laos, Cambodia and Thailand split $6.8 billion for their assistance), and our "friends" in South Korea raked in

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nearly $13 billion. It may surprise the reader to learn that Israel collected near $15 billion—about $5,000 per Israeli, by the way—while Egypt got $6,380 million, most of that even before the glorious "peace" treaty which gave both countries the free run of the public purse. Indeed, Uncle Sap has financed both sides of several wars: Turkey versus Greece, for example ($7 billion and $5 billion, respectively), as well as India versus Pakistan ($6 billion and $5 billion—no wonder Pakistani strongman General Zia rejected Carter's proffered $400 million aid deal as "peanuts"). *USN&WR* did not see fit to comment on these figures, but that's probably for the best, given that journal's general inability to rise above kindergarten red-baiting. They even used the finest of fine print to note that these figures omit $11.9 billion in outstanding Export-Import Bank loans, used to subsidize trade with the Soviet Union, among other places.

The insolence of Big Brother knows no bounds; now the Food and Drug Administration has arrogated to itself the power to regulate and approve vibrators. "Although specific standards still are being written," says the *Oakland Tribune* (March 15, 1980), "FDA officials say they are primarily concerned that registered vibrators will not damage or inflame sensitive genital tissue." And none too soon. If we had permitted just anyone to make and sell such devices, it would have been only a matter of time before Americans were maiming themselves by the thousands with the products of Cuisinart, or Black and Decker. You can carry laissez faire only so far.

Barron's had itself a hearty sneer last February at the 54 businessmen who lent their names and likenesses to support the 1980 U.S. Industrial Payroll Savings Program, asking how many of them were dumb enough to buy the Savings Bonds they tried to con American workers into buying. Surprisingly, one wrote in to claim that he had $50,000 in the things and buys more at the rate of $225 every week—*and* that he has "no current plans" to unload them before their maturity date. "I consider Savings Bonds to be an investment in America — a country I'm tremendously proud of and one which has given me opportunities that I'm extremely grateful for," says Roy A. Anderson, Chairman of the Board for Lockheed.

Village Voice columnist Nat Hentoff brings us the tale of how, four years ago, wee Jimmy Carter told Mike Barnicle of the *Boston Globe* that he has never been afraid. "My faith in God," said the Blessed Peanut, "has prevented me from knowing fear." (Barnicle, who was driving with Carter at the time, remarks that he had a sudden urge to leap out of the car "rather than spend any more time with a man who had just told me he was not susceptible to the healthiest of all emotions, fear.") This year, during the Iowa primary, Rosalynn Carter assured the voters that her helpmeet "would not be afraid to declare war" (we have this on the authority of another *Globe* columnist, Robert Healy), inspiring in Hentoff the same urge as Barnicle had: to "Dump Carter—and Madame Nhu Too" (the *Voice*, March 3, 1980). Ngo Diem's sister-in-law was given to proposing "barbecues" of her family's detractors; a trait Hentoff finds akin to the First Dragon Lady's "cold ferocity against all who get in the Carters' way. ... But what this First Lady is saying in 1980 involves the readiness of Jimmy Carter to create a barbecue of millions upon millions of souls to prove how utterly committed he is to peace through strength."

"Carter is truly a cretin and Kennedy, having drowned his mistress, went to sleep for twelve hours." That's Gaullist politician Edgar Faure, quoted in the February 29 *Le Monde* (by way of the incomparable Alexander Cockburn). Some things, it seems, can be seen much more clearly from a distance of five or six thousand miles.

But of course there is one surefire way to convince yourself that Jimmykins isn't really that bad: read the rantings of such as George Will, who is livid at his "abandonment" of the Shah. "To appease the terrorists," raged Will in a recent (March 19) column, "the Administration betrayed American values by deporting [sic] an old ailing ally to a fly-blown island in the tropics." (Said f.b.i. is General Torrijos's favorite vacation spot — and the place where Patty Hearst spent her honeymoon—which may be why the "deported" Shah went there of his own accord.) "Torrijos and his henchmen," as Will would have it, "have already fleeced the shah for substantial amounts of money. They monitor his calls. [What?! Who do they think they are, SAVAK?] They harass and arrest his aides.... Today the shah is a virtual prisoner of his tormentor, Torrijos, who says that the shah is not free to leave Panama." Well, maybe he had his fingers crossed. But nothing can excuse Carter for refusing the impoverished Shah admittance to the Canal Zone hospital, forcing him to turn to that infamous quack, Dr. Michael DeBakey (of heart-transplant fame). "The Administration would not even provide a government plane to get doctors to Panama. Fear of terrorists now controls Administration decisions about planes and medicines." Anything to keep dictators off the dole.

The reader will no doubt celebrate Independence Day this July 4, unaware that he should have been celebrating 54 days earlier. Tax Freedom Day, as calculated by the Tax Foundation, Inc., is the day when the average American schmoe has finally worked long enough to pay his taxes —federal, state and local— for the year and can devote himself to the pursuit of such extravagant luxuries as food and shelter, and perhaps a rag to cover his nakedness. Unlike the Fourth, Tax Freedom Day is a moveable feast, which comes ever later in the year as governmental depredations increase. In 1980 it falls on May 11—three days later than in 1979, five days later than in 1978.

Just as we go to press the Boston *Sunday Globe* reports that, contrary to George Will's fears, the Administration did not "abandon" the Shah in Panama. Rather, it was White House counsel Lloyd Cutler who arranged for the chartered jet that spirited the King of Kings out of Panama just one day before Iranian lawyers filed for an extradition order. The Shah flew the friendly skies of Evergreen International Airlines, which, according to the *Globe*, has "links" to the CIA.

Caveat emptor: "The maker of Woodward's Celebrated Gripe Water, a British concoction for infant discomforts, legally lists ingredients on its Malaysian label in Latin." (*Wall Street Journal*, April 8, 1980.) "In Britain, the label is in English, and it sets a limit of eight doses a day." ❑

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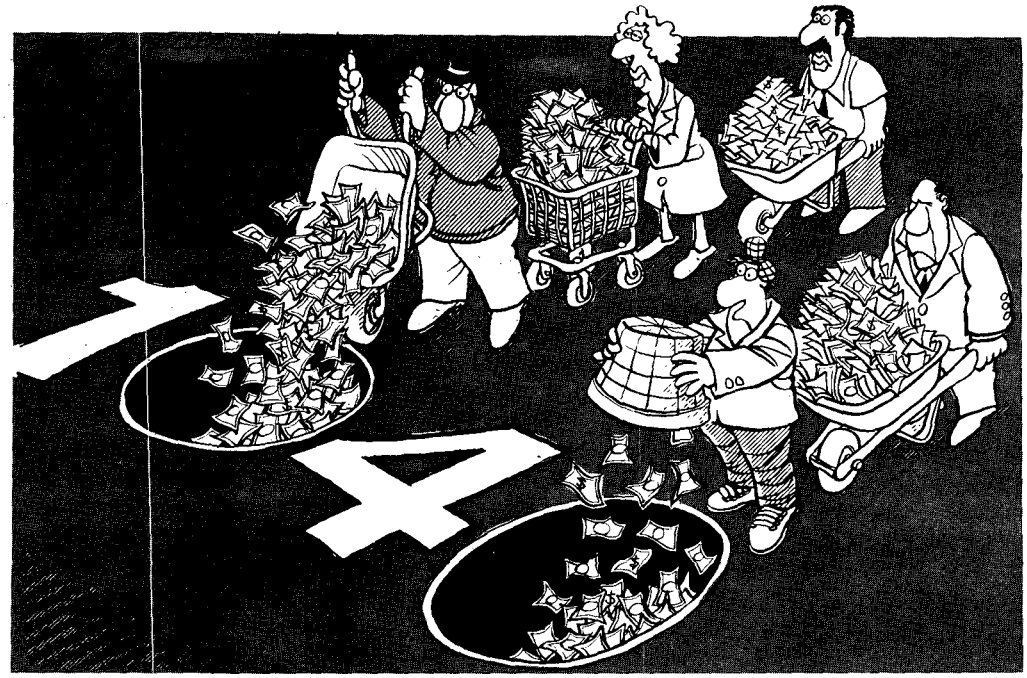
EDITORIALS



The revolt of the masses

INFLATION IS ONE OF the tax man's staunchest allies. For as prices of all sorts, including wages and salaries (the price of human labor) have gone up and up and up, more and more Americans have entered higher and higher income tax brackets. Though their incomes have not been going up as fast as the prices of food, housing and transportation, our "progressive" income tax system has nevertheless been steadily enlarging its cut. A worker who earned $10,000 in 1970 will earn $20,000 in 1980 if his wages and salary went up over the decade at about the same rate as everyone else's. But since all other prices have gone up faster, the worker whose standard of living ate up every cent of his or her salary in 1970 will have to reduce his standard of living in 1980. (Another option might be the use of credit to live beyond his means, except that President Carter has recently chosen to order sharp cutbacks in the availability of consumer credit—an order which would be understandable if it came from a tyrant who delighted in torture, but which is utterly incomprehensible in the mealy mouth of an elected official who pretends, feebly, to be "fighting inflation." Is Carter bent on restricting his people's access to any device which might ease the suffering they were being made to endure by the inflation he had previously loosed upon them?) And on top of all this, the government is demanding a larger percentage of his earnings in the form of income tax. After all, he's earning twice as much as he was ten years ago, isn't he?

The only beneficiary of inflation is government. Without having to take the political risk of raising the level of taxation, it manages to rake in ever-increasing amounts of revenue.

This is one of the principal reasons why so many Americans are suddenly "cheating" on their taxes. The IRS is naturally hesitant to admit that such a problem exists on any large scale. The IRS depends upon voluntary compliance for its existence. And if it revealed how bad the problem has already become—how many Americans are now "cheating" and getting away with it—the system could fail altogether. But every few years the IRS does an in-depth review of 50,000 tax returns to determine the level of this voluntary compliance. In 1967, small proprietors had a compliance rate of about 80 percent. By 1973 it was down to 60 percent. And today, Jerome Kurtz, Commissioner of the IRS, admits that the level is as low as 47 percent for independent contractors. Kurtz claims that the compliance rate for employees is still incredibly high—98 percent—because their wages and salaries are reported for them, and are automatically withheld from their paychecks. Yet there is some concern on the IRS's part that a growing number of those employees are beginning to claim too many deductions on their 1040 forms—more, perhaps, than they are "rightfully entitled" to. Others, millions of them, are entering the "underground economy" and dealing exclusively in cash, goods and services. No checks, no credit cards, no records. What goes unrecorded can also go unreported.

And most Americans who are "cheating" in these ways are getting away with it. Mortimer Caplin, a former head of the IRS during the 1960s, laments what he calls "a serious deterioration in enforcement," and claims that "the word is spreading that the IRS hardly looks at a lot of returns." Robert McIn-

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tyre, head of Ralph Nader's Tax Reform Group, blatantly states that "anyone who wants to cheat can." This year only a little more than 2 percent of all returns will be audited. The rate was 5 percent as recently as the early '60s. Furthermore, the IRS simply can't keep pace with all the new tax-shelter schemes. Some 200,000 individual returns representing about 18,000 different tax-shelter ideas are now reportedly backed up for scrutiny at IRS offices. And even when the agency finally gets around to auditing those returns—or going after one of the five million Americans who don't even file one—chances are very good it won't win its case. A General Accounting Office study found that the IRS is catching only one out of eight non-filers, that many of those caught eventually end up with refunds rather than owing any tax, and that many other cases are dropped because the suspected nonfiler isn't at his or her last address known by the IRS, even though the individual could easily be traced through relatives or even by looking at a phone book.

Then there's the newest trend among IRS investigators—going after the individual or small proprietor instead of the wealthy professional criminal. In many cases, the agents don't want to mess with real crooks dealing in illegal income; individuals and mom-and-pop enterprises are much easier prey. Also, it takes nine months from the time the IRS calls a court hearing before the proceeding actually begins. It's easy to disappear in nine months. Typically, real criminals don't show—they've neatly exited their former addresses or even the country. This has been the scenario in more than 80 percent of all the court hearings the IRS has ordered in the last two years. Barbers, beauticians, secretaries, and the couple who own the health food store have a better record of showing up in court. They're more compliant.

But of course, this bully's strategy of picking on the easy, defenseless victim is winning the IRS no new friends. One former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, David Macdonald, believes it's actually adding to the spread of tax avoidance and tax evasion by convincing people that the IRS is an illegitimate agency, not worthy of their respect. After all, what kind of organization would try to squeeze more money out of inflation-strapped working people while leaving affluent truck hijackers and car thieves alone?

The resultant disrespect for the tax collector is making itself felt outside the IRS as well, in a new disdain for the bureaucrats who collect and spend state and municipal income taxes. In California during April and May, Howard Jarvis's latest expression of his disrespect, Proposition 9, which would cut the California state income tax in half, was the most controversial item—including the candidates for the Republican and Democratic presidential nominations—coming up on the June 3 ballot. The controversy, however, was not really over whether Proposition 9 should pass—almost everyone who pays taxes would love to see them cut—but rather over exactly which concentrations of unsightly government fat should be eliminated once it had. California politicians, needless to say, were agonizing publicly (with the emphasis on the publicly) over whether the cuts would have to be made in the police departments or the fire departments, or maybe the parks and recreation departments or the departments that fix the streets and keep them clean, or maybe we could close some public libraries. One wonders whether the government officials who are perpetrating this fraud are actually out to punish the impertinent taxpayers who have threatened to impoverish them by cutting back exactly those government services which they do *not* want cut back. Or are they merely out to spread misinformation and thereby win an election—by convincing the voters that there *is* no fat in government, that everything is already down to the bare bones, with the possible exception of our budgets for the parks and the museums and the police and fire departments and the people who maintain the streets and, of course, the libraries. But what about the thirty thousand and forty thousand dollar per year bureaucrats—phalanxes of them at a time—who sit shuffling papers so that California's dozens of tax-supported community colleges will be able to go on offering classes in pottery for welfare mothers? What about the hundreds of thousands of taxpayer dollars which go down the rathole every year in every large city as "matching funds" for some federally conceived and federally peddled welfare boondoggle?—or jobs boondoggle or anti-crime boondoggle or transit boondoggle: pick your boondoggle; where cost and effectiveness are concerned, they're pretty much interchangeable. What about the millions upon millions of taxpayer dollars which are spent every year to harass marijuana smokers, prostitutes, gamblers, and publishers of "pornographic" books? The only answer such questions receive from the bureaucrats and politicians of California is a stony silence—a silence with a good deal of eye-opening recent history behind it. This history, including an assessment of the effects of Proposition 13 and an analysis of how the "no on 9" scare stories came to be, is the burden of two other contributors to this issue of *LR*, Bruce R.

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Bartlett and Marshall E. Schwartz. Suffice it to say here that the spirit of Jarvis II is the same as the spirit of the rising national tide of tax avoidance and tax evasion; and such a spirit is precisely what we need to usher in a new chapter in the ongoing tax revolt. —LJN & JR

Uncle Snoop

IN APRIL THE CENSUS Bureau began the most expensive and complicated count in its 200 year history. Plagued by errors, lawsuits and demands, and worried about public distrust of Big Brotherism, Washington appealed to Madison Avenue, The Boy Scouts of America, television and sports celebrities, hundreds of local ethnic leaders and 682,000 paid enumerators to cajole each and every one of the nation's 220 million citizens to respond. The 1970 census missed about 7 percent of the population, mostly blacks and other minorities, especially Mexican illegal aliens. Since state, local, and minority leaders rely on numbers to achieve political clout and federal funds, it was in the interest of every group scrambling for dollars to make certain that not a single old wino or struggling alien was ignored by the tally.

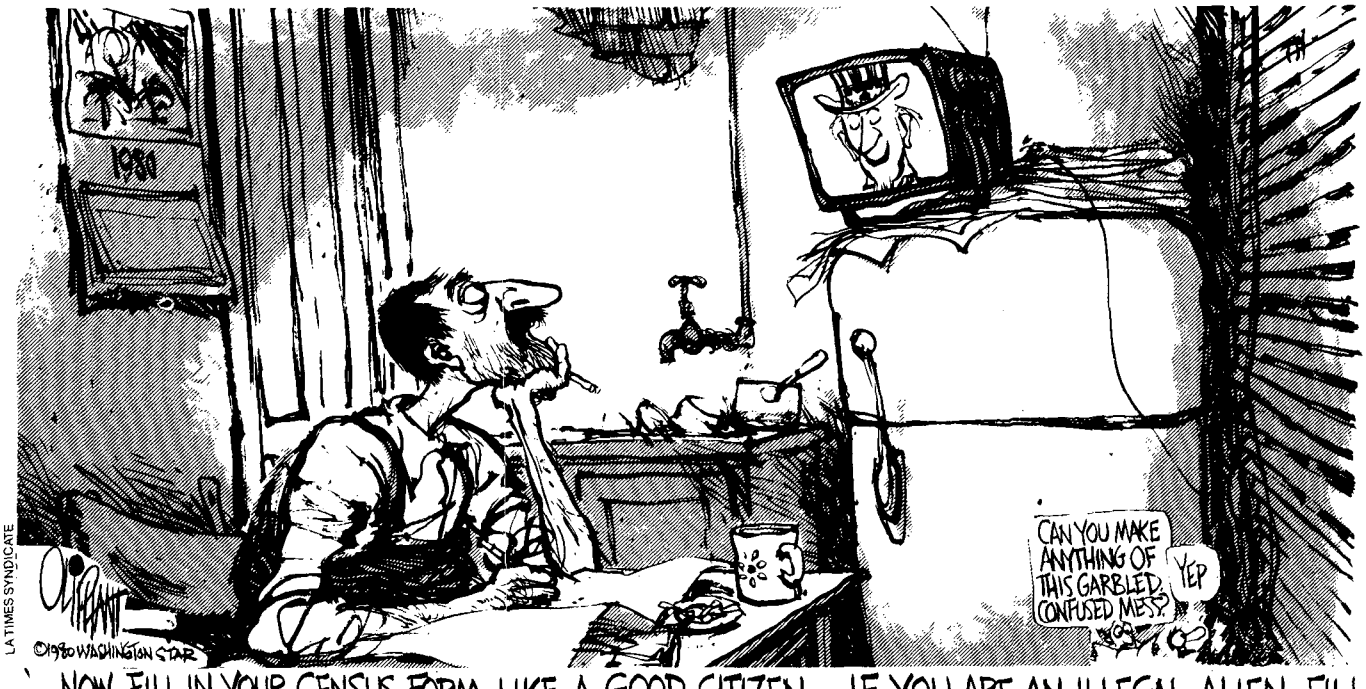
If the ad campaign fails in its 100 percent goal, we are warned (and with fear of the government at an all-time high it surely will), then Washington will not be able to "fairly" redistribute our wealth, give the correct information to private businesses for use in their direct mail campaigns, or, god forbid, know exactly how many members of its citizenry belong to a particular race or nationality.

In an obvious attempt to justify the invasion of privacy inherent in the current census, and thus reassure a public disinclined to believe the government, Vincent P. Barabba, director of the census, says, "The bureau does invade your privacy—everyone does, but only questions relevant to government services are asked. That's the balance between the right to privacy and the need to know." For libertarians, of course, the government's "need to know" is no need at all, but an outrageous and totally unnecessary incursion into our lives. And the 50 billion dollars of federal aid that is meant to bribe us into compliance (not to mention the one billion dollars that the census itself costs), would be far better left in the pockets of the populace.

While the bureaucrats quarrel over whether or not illegal aliens should be counted, or whether the census might not be done by some more efficient method, there are several much more basic questions that should be answered. For instance, should there be a census at all? If so, why should it be more than a purely voluntary head count? And what is the probability that any information we volunteer will be used against us?

It is this last question which has the most immediate interest. While the Bureau assures us that its records are absolutely confidential, there is enough evidence of the unreliability of the government in general, and of the Census Bureau in particular, to worry the Catholic Church, the ACLU, and the average citizen. What protection is afforded by laws which may easily be changed by a quick Congressional vote? The Bureau has admitted that it cross-checks its data (for the sake of accuracy, of course) with that of the IRS, the Social Security Administration, and the various agencies which keep our birth records. In fact, it tried to require Social Security numbers on the census forms this year, but was prevented by protests. The Bureau insists that all these checks are one-way, and no other agency is allowed access to its data.

Evidently, some government agencies haven't been informed: before the forms were even sent out, the suggestion that census information might be used to determine the number of draft resisters in the country was made by the Office of Management and Budget deputy director John White before the Senate Sub-committee on appropriations. Mr. White has since failed to clarify his statement, even though pressured to do so by anti-draft leaders, but it is just this sort of indirect use of census data that has been sanctioned in the past, and can lead to violations of rights, just as the release of individual information can. During World War II, the Census Bureau was asked to



'...NOW, FILL IN YOUR CENSUS FORM LIKE A GOOD CITIZEN. IF YOU ARE AN ILLEGAL ALIEN, FILL IN YOUR CENSUS FORM LIKE A GOOD ILLEGAL ALIEN. THANKYOU.'

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OAKLAND TRIBUNE

Libertarian activists Reid Judd (left) and Victoria Varga become criminals by burning census forms in a protest at the Berkeley (CA) census office, as an amused bystander looks on.

release the names and addresses of Japanese-Americans, which, to its credit, it refused to do; this is a fact which the Bureau frequently and proudly points out, failing to add that it was finally pressured into disclosing the locations where there were high concentrations of Japanese residents. Said Japanese were then rounded up, robbed of their land and personal property, and incarcerated in concentration camps.

One instance of individual information being relinquished was during World War I, when the ages of draft resisters were released to aid in their prosecution. But, the point must be made that *generalized* census information may be released without violating the law that supposedly guarantees its confidentiality. And such generalized information may be used quite effectively against nationalities or age groups such as the Iranian students who are in danger of being deported by an irate Senator Hayakawa, the Mexican illegals who are considered criminals because they dare to try and work in this country, or the 18 to 20 year olds who fail to register for the new draft.

As has been noted, the Bureau is aware of this public distrust, and is already worried about the 1990 census, which, the *New York Times* reports, might take one of four possible forms: 1) a "protectionist" census, in which public distrust allowed merely a head count, 2) a "limited inquiry" census, essentially the present type, in which only certain types of questions were allowed, 3) a "free inquiry" census, in which people allowed any sort of question, believing that it would bring social benefits, or 4) a "1984" census, in which material was gathered for the express purpose of repressing and controlling people. It should be noted that the main differences between the current system and the "free inquiry" system are that there would be a "merging of data banks" and a "more or less continuous monitoring" of personal data on citizens, and that the difference between type 3 and "1984" is *only* in the way that the data is *used*. Already there is talk in Washington of a large, permanent organization and new technology which lends itself very well to repressive uses—electronic devices that record identities by photographing thumbprints, and home televisions which are connected like Orwell's telescreens to a centralized statistical agency. A special census panel on future developments states, "By the year 2000, there will be no technological difficulties in obtaining rapidly any information that people are willing to release." But there's the rub. How much *are* we willing to release?

We will never know how many households have chosen to resist the 1980 census, because the nature of the protest keeps even its numbers a secret. But only 85 percent of the forms sent out had been returned by late April. And the thousands of homes which were missed entirely and were content to let matters stand that way might, through bureaucratic bungling (of which this count has had an amazing amount), be overlooked entirely by the magnifying glass of Uncle Sam. Donald Ernsberger, of the Society for Individual Liberty, which sponsored anti-census demonstrations across the country, says that in areas in which SIL protested heavily, the return of forms was reduced an average of 20 percent. In Bucks County, Pennsylvania, the Bureau puts the blame for the 60 percent return rate squarely on SIL. And of the 85 percent of the forms which have been dutifully filled out, it is not even to be hoped that all the answers are accurate or truthful. Participants in the underground economy are not likely to reveal on a census form what they would not reveal on a 1040. There have also been reports of prank answers, like listing the dial-a-prayer number as one's own telephone number. It tends to renew one's faith in America the Rebellious.

Resistance is also receiving support from some unusual, but gratifying quarters. Senator Strom Thurmond has recently introduced legislation to abolish the involuntary census, and Senator George McGovern has said, "There may be a legitimate purpose to be served by questions in the census, but I can think of none that surpass the right of each individual citizen to be secure against government intrusion into his private affairs. Certainly, the decision whether to answer ... should be left to the individual."

What is really ironic is that the only "useful" function of the involuntary census may be to monitor the private lives of Americans, since it is not expected to reveal any surprising statistics. Spot sampling techniques have become so sophisticated that all the data necessary to "run" the economy and "solve" the nation's problems can be, and are, obtained through voluntary and anonymous methods. As for the original, constitutional reason for the census, which was fair Congressional apportionment, we might consider taking the advice of Benjamin Franklin, as reported by Art Hoppe in the March 3 issue of *Inquiry* magazine, "and progress serially — that is, 'two,' 'three,' 'four,' 'five,' etcetera — until [we] have enumerated all the residents of that state."

—VV

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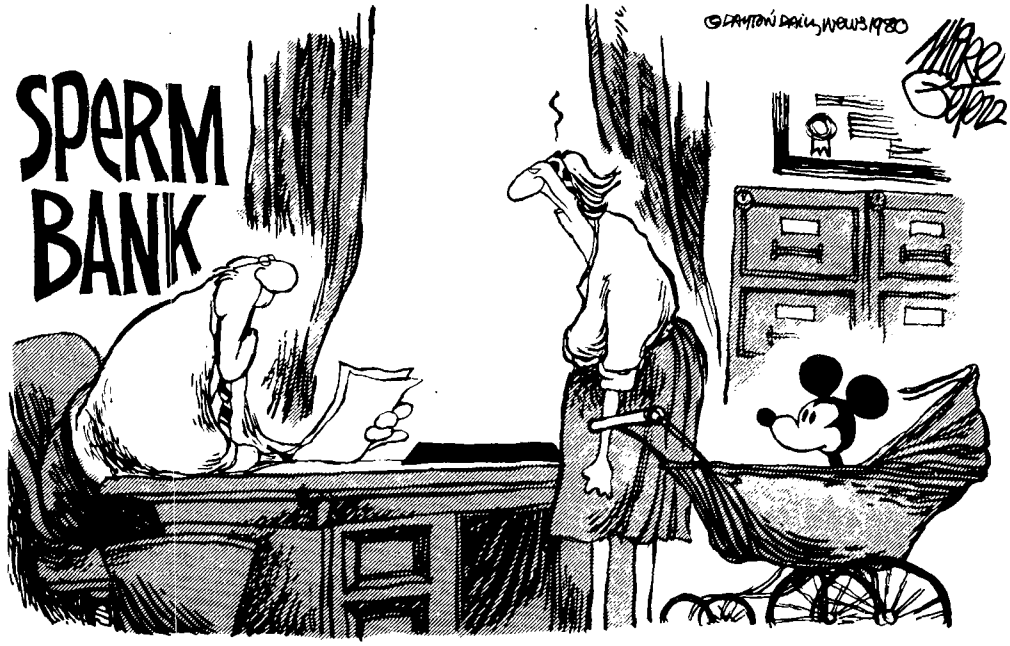
LETTERS TO LR



Bouquets...

THE FEBRUARY ISSUE of *The Libertarian Review* is one of the best yet. Roy A. Childs's article on "The Iranian Drama" is the most incisive analysis of the Iranian situation that I have yet seen. In it he has clearly shown an enormous depth of understanding of the situation and communicated it to his readers. I applaud him on his outstanding writing.

The rest of the magazine contains the same high quality. It is the only libertarian publication that I now read cover to cover.

Keep up your good work.

PORTER DAVIS
Vice President
Wm. E. Davis & Sons, Inc.
Oklahoma City, OK

I APPLAUD YOUR EXcellent, factual, and most *stirring* article on "our" friend the Shah and the tragic events in the ever-continuous "Iranian Drama." It was a grim and totally accurate reminder of the ugly reality that exists beneath the sham of patriotic rhetoric along with economic and military threats. My only regret is that not enough people, let alone Carter himself, will ever lay eyes on your words, much less accept them. Can you imagine any of the gang at the White House reading your piece? (But of course they know it already and could never admit it!)

And here I am, in "Small-Town," U.S.A., where only a mere handful see the Iranian/U.S. dilemma as we do. Most Americans would deny the truth, and condemn your article, but that's probably because that truth terrifies them. So it's the old story: the people who *should* read *LR* won't, and those who do, don't always need to. As one of those who has known about the Shah and our country's involvement with him etc. . . . I feel I still needed to read it, see it in black and white with photos! I thank you. And I thank your efficient and thoughtful production manager who provided me with a copy of this fine issue. Ironically, the day I read your saga of the Shah, this "thought" came over the news wire:

"A thought for the day: Poet Robert Burns said: 'Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn.'"

IAN FRANCKENSTEIN
Cottage Grove, OR

And brickbats

I'VE HAD IT WITH YOUR uncritical, trendy leftism. Revisionism is fine, but your recurring pie-in-the-sky statements implying that the poor Russians have been forced into their aggressions by a black-hearted, imperialist, war-mongering U.S. just make me laugh out loud. I can just see them now: "Ve only vant peaceski, comrades . . . and, while you're at it, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, etc., etc."

Having directly experienced the heel of the U.S. military (and U.S. militarism) for 21 months, 29 days, eight hours and some odd minutes, I am hardly its friend or apologist. But afterwards, as a free man, I got to see the East German Kameraden goose-stepping the guard out to this grotesquely-misnamed "Denkmal an die Opfer des Fascis-

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mus und Militarismus" in Berlin. I have to laugh when I reflect that you think *those* militarists are any different to, or better than, our native variety. You have quite a lesson in front of you.

FRANKLIN SANDERS
Memphis, TN

The trucking war

THANKS FOR THE EXcellent, well-written, highly informative article on the trucking industry by Doug Bandow. It'll be great ammunition for my arguments against mixed-economy advocates.

MIKE DALEY
Berkeley, CA

Liberty and the unions

IN THE FEBRUARY ISSUE of *The Libertarian Review,* Bruce Bartlett proposes that libertarians take advantage of a unique position and support private unions in a coming battle with public sector unions. He claims that because of public union costs which private union members must pay as taxpayers, there must eventually be a confrontation between the groups. The truth is that the two will work together to rob all of us the more. Power doesn't behave the way this dreamer dreams or there'd be strong evidence by now of a conflict between the two groups. There is none.

We decry the use of force and agree not to support it: the unions profit by the use of force, and the present immense government comes directly from union organization and power.

There is some need for unions in the private sector, to see that individuals are not swept under the rug, to develop social, recreational, purchasing and other coordinated groups to take advantage of bulk purchasing power, and so on. It is when they use force to increase their costs that we are all destroyed.

A strike is against the consumer, not the employer. He passes on the costs. We need to rouse public opinion against every strike, use strikes to build up our public support. An opinion study recently showed that 54 percent of the voters dislike union policies, 23 percent accept them. This would let the Libertarian Party make use of a massive opinion already existing to build its political strength. The conservatives don't use this material, leaving it up to us to develop voting support. I suspect we'd be able, even in 1980, to eliminate a handful of Congressmen who have voted straight union support. Properly presented, the material should even get us union votes in the secrecy of the ballot box. Union members know they're losing jobs to foreign producers, but are never told that they do it themselves. And we'll get more votes from non-union workers who realize they can't get industrial jobs in America because the unions price their workers out of business.

Union members, or potential union members, are the victims of their own follies. The chronic unemployment that has hurt this nation for decades comes primarily from unions' pushing up their prices, thus to cost themselves out of their markets. We are probably a million jobs short because of that particular idiocy, and thousands of employers have been wiped out by it. The minimum wage laws are a second harsh factor in unemployment, as we well know, and that was pushed into law by the unions in order for them to be able to get massive wage increases across the board through political force, rather than having to strike for them. The two factors make it impossible to get rid of unemployment, and thus they have used the government to make the rest of us pay for the unemployment that comes primarily from their activities.

Unions have priced their members out of work ever since they first organized, and always will. The Auto Union is a glaring example. Fifty years ago, the industry exported 10 percent of its production. Today, imports take a quarter of the American market. The unions have pushed up their members' prices to where they take home a third more than do workers in comparable jobs in other industries, and they cut productivity to where a Japanese worker will produce a third more cars in his lifetime than will an American auto worker. Then you find their leader, an avowed Socialist, going to Japan to threaten Japanese producers to slow down their shipments to the U.S., or produce more of their cars here, or face a vast organized program of coercion to frighten the rest of us away from buying what are better bargains. Again, it is the American consumer who pays, not the Japanese builder.

Nobody is entitled to more pay every year for doing the same job. If he can get it by peaceful means, that's up to his employer, but to use force is obnoxious. We are paid only for our productivity, for the value we add to the product. If we add no more value, then to force getting more pay is morally contemptible, and as we've seen in the Auto Union case, economically destructive. In this connection, if the unions had never had a wage increase over the last forty-five years, their retired members' savings, because of growth in buying power as productivity improved, would be worth every dollar they invested and substantially more. As it is, their dollars from the '30s are 90 percent destroyed, from the'60s, 70 percent destroyed and so on. Without union support, the government would never have pushed us into massive peacetime inflation. We'd have had some during the wars, but retired dollar buying power would be superbly better than is now the case.

There's no practical way to get current union members to admit that unions in public agencies are bad because then they'd have to admit their evil in the private sector. They don't have much to say in any case, the unions are run by their angriest members who gain power by claiming to defend the union member agains savage employers. They have not turned against government because it is government that gives them their robbing power, so there's not much chance of their attacking public unions. Under proper cooperation, public unions will help them elect leftists to more Congressional seats to give them all handouts, far in excess of the added tax cost to private union members of public union costs. We're up against clever savages.

We Libertarians need to demand the elimination of the use of force in labor negotiations. That's our basic premise. Once it's established, unions will tend to lose political clout and we'll be better able to reduce massive government.

THOMAS S. BOOZ
Plantation, FL

Bartlett replies:

I SYMPATHIZE WITH MR. Booz's concerns about the power of labor unions. There is no question that they often use force and violence to achieve their ends and that we are all worse off for it. I would certainly favor repeal of all laws which provide union with special privileges. (These privileges are thor-

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oughly outlined in Roscoe Pound's *Legal Immunities of Labor Unions*.) However, I would not go as far as Mr. Booz does in blaming unions for our economic woes. Unions do not cause inflation; government and only government causes inflation, by printing money to pay for deficit spending. If unions persisted in pressing for wages above the market rate and the government did not accommodate such increases by printing more money all unions would accomplish is to cause unemployment. Thus I would still argue that our attention must be focused on government, not on unions.

It is not a matter of us versus them. Union members are just like everyone else. They pay taxes, they are frightened by inflation, they own homes, and they are just as concerned about the intrusion of government into their lives as other Americans. Indeed, it would be a terrible mistake to compare the typical union member today with the typical member of a couple of decades ago. One might almost say that unions are victims of their own success; rather than identifying with the ideals of the working class, most union members now see themselves as part of the beleaguered middle class. This is one reason why union membership is declining.

The fact of the matter is that in spite of seemingly large wage increases, most workers are worse off today than they were in the early 1970s. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics the average worker in the private sector made $136.90 in gross wages in 1972. In October 1979 this worker's gross wages had increased to $225.62. But in real after-tax terms (in 1967 dollars) this worker is only making $80.74 compared to $89.54 in 1972.

The point I am trying to make is that people like Mr. Booz ought to direct their concerns at the real villain—government—and stop worrying about unions. As I said in my first article, the real issue is the private sector versus the public sector. The private sector is shrinking every day from the encroachment of government; we ought not to abandon any potential allies, including the unions.

And more on nukes...

IT SEEMS TO ME, WHEN one looks at the figures on radiation releases, that you have only two honest choices:

1. You can apologize to your readers for the ignorant claptrap you printed about the evils of nuclear power, or

2. You can be consistent, and call for the immediate shut-down of all coal-fired industry and utilities, since they subject innocent people to nuclear radiation and receive large government subsidies (on the order of a billion a year for black lung, just for starters).

ERIK BUCK
Brunswick, OH

YOUR CONTINUED ATtack on nuclear power has the hysterical tone that permeates the popular press, and is based on very shaky scientific reasoning. Mr. Riggenbach's reading of the article he cited in the *New England Journal of Medicine* was evidently quite superficial. He states that: "Leukemia has occurred at more than two times the normal rate among persons who were under 15 and living in Utah in the path of fallout from the tests" (p. 22 of May, 1979, issue). According to the actual article (*N Eng J Med* 300:399), the mortality rate for leukemia in the high-fallout counties was increased by 2.44 times over its pre-test rate, which was abnormally low, but was only 33 percent greater than the leukemia mortality for the United States as a whole. For the low-fallout counties, the mortality was also increased, but by 9.6 percent, which was not statistically significant. In contrast, other childhood cancers actually declined; by 52 percent in the high-fallout areas, and 4.2 percent in the low-fallout areas. Total cancer mortality (leukemia + other childhood cancers) was 8.46 per 100,000 children in the susceptible age group *before* the nuclear tests, and 7.46 per 100,000 in children born at the time of the nuclear tests. That is actually a *decrease*. Now, I do not mean to imply that fallout is good for children. Clearly, exposure to radiation increases cancer risk. The question is, by how much, and how does this compare with risk from other means of generating energy. Furthermore, the fallout from atmospheric tests of bombs causes much more radiation exposure than power plants. The amount measured at Three Mile Island was about one-tenth the amount occuring in Pennsylvania at the time a bomb was exploded by Red China. Now, Dr. Gofman is quite concerned that there is no threshold level below which there is no risk. Therefore, he should be agitating about coal-fired plants, for the airborne effluents from them cause a higher radiation dose than those from nuclear plants (*Science* 202:1048, Dec. 1978). By the way, radioactive effluents are very easy to measure. Chemical ones are more difficult, and have more unpredictable and unknown effects.

The AMA Council on Scientific Affairs has published estimates of the various risks from mining injuries, pneumonconiosis, radiation exposure, air pollution, etc. (*Journal of the American Medical Association* 240: 2193, Nov. 10, 1978). Total deaths expected per 1000 megawatt electric units generated by various means are as follows: Coal 2.16-314; Oil 1.1-101; Natural gas 0.06-0.28; Nuclear 0.045-1.1.

What about solar? A "huge solar plant," the world's largest solar-powered electric generating plant," opened in Coolidge, Arizona, a few days ago. It cost $4.5 million. It covers one acre, and will provide sufficient electricity to irrigate 200 acres. That's about 150 kilowatts. It takes about 1000 *mega*watts to supply a million people. At $30,000 per kilowatt times 1000 kilowatts per megawatt times 1000, that's $30,000,000,000 ($30 billion) for a power plant for one big city. I'm sure the cost will come down some, but I don't think such a plant is going to make it in a free market, no matter how many cartoons you and others publish.

JANE M. ORIENT, M.D.
Tucson, AZ

Gofman replies:

IF MY RESPONSE TO MR. Buck and Dr. Orient shows impatience, it is because their letters can not be distinguished from the misinformation supplied to the public by the Atomic Industrial Forum and other nuclear promoters, often via letters-to-the-editor. It is to the credit of *The Libertarian Review* that its editors try to help readers find the scientific truth, instead of letting the magazine naively serve as an uncritical agent for the nuclear promoters.

I shall deal with the major claims of Dr. Orient's letter, but it would take too much space to deal with them all. As the great libertarian teacher, F. A. Harper, wrote in "To Shoot a Myth":

> The real reason why myths are impossible to shoot is that the forms they can take are infinite in number, and also that they evade one's aim at infinite speed. As to the number of forms

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myths can take, consider the possible answers to 2 plus 2. The only nonmythical answer is 4. But there are infinite mythical answers .... So if one's aim were perfect and he could shoot a myth with every shot, he could spend his entire lifetime shooting myths released by only one myth factory, without ever demolishing all this factory could produce. For automation is well established in myth factories; their production can operate at a fantastic speed .... And in addition, myths are hard to shoot because they flit here and there at the speed of force without resistance since they are not burdened by the weight and rigid confines of fact. And if you should be so lucky as to hit one squarely, it is likely only to spatter into any number of submyths, as if you hit a gob of mercury with a hammer .... (*Writings of F.A. Harper*, Volume 2).

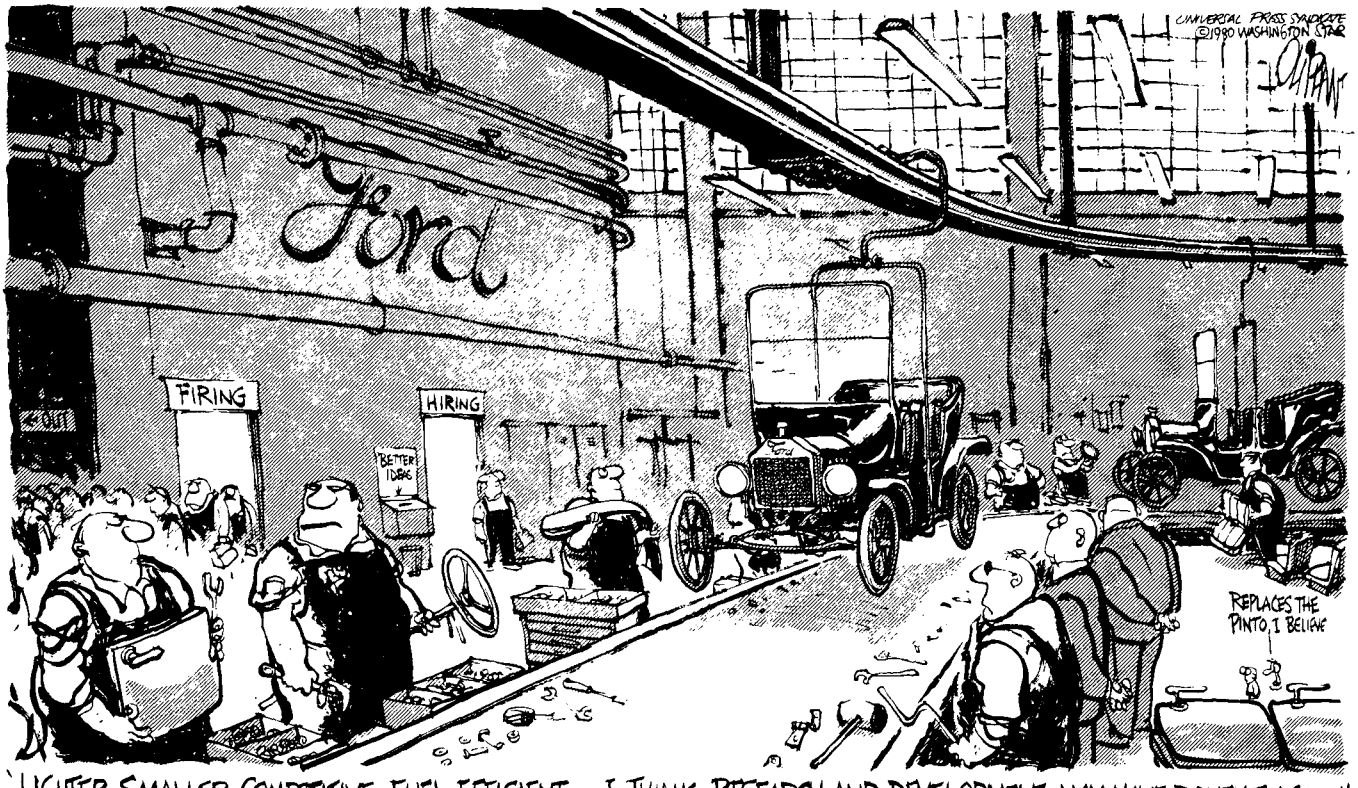
Dr. Orient assures us that she does not mean to imply that fallout is good for children. At least that should be reassuring about Dr. Orient. But it is simply flabbergasting that she chooses a preliminary evaluation of leukemia in Utah to answer her own question: By how much does radiation increase the cancer risk? I did not realize there were still any physicians who are unfamiliar with the mountain of epidemiological evidence from Hiroshima and Nagasaki, from the irradiated patients with ankylosing spondylitis, and from the numerous quantitative studies of breast cancer induced by radiation. Cancer and leukemia risks per rad are to be found for Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Beebe, G.W., Kato, H., and Land, C.E., "Studies of the Mortality of A-Bomb Survivors: Part 6: Mortality and Radiation Dose, 1950-1974" Cancer Research 75, 138-201, 1978. Cancer and leukemia risks per rad, for the anklosing spondylitics, are to be found in "Sources and Effects of Ionizing Radiation," Annex G, page 361, United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, 1977 Report to the General Assembly, United Nations, New York, 1977. (Numerous additional data providing relationships between radiation dose and cancer induction will also be found there.)

From these data, Dr. Orient could well ascertain to what extent radiation increases the risk (the *occurrence*) of both leukemia and cancer. Any physician even slightly familiar with this subject, would mention the solid data rather than isolating a preliminary study in Utah — where one does not even have a dose-estimate — to claim that opposition to nuclear power is "based on very shaky scientific reasoning"!

As for the estimates by the A.M.A. Council of Scientific Affairs on the mortality-risk from generating electricity by various fuels, those estimates are simply and totally worthless. *Anyone* at all can generate a Santa Claus wish-list stating a trivial dose which he (she) wishes will be the actual dose given to people by nuclear power. Neither Dr. Orient nor the people she cites have the foggiest notion of what the dose really is now and will be from the nuclear power cycle (for reasons, see *LR*, October 79). By the way, measurements of the average gamma-ray dose at the perimeter of the utility's property tell you exactly nothing about the real exposure-problem via air, water, and soil contamination. The dose at the fence-line can be trivial while the dose delivered at great distances can be a public health disaster.

To know what the mortality-risk from nukes is and will be requires knowing what the dose is and will be. This requires, among other things, that Dr. Orient and others know whether containment of the poisons is and will be 99 percent ... or 99.9999 perfect for all the radioactive garbage in the nuclear cycle. Anyone who assures us he (she) knows this is either lying or incompetent or both. When I predict that containment will *not* be 99.99 percent perfect, and that nuclear power will therefore lead to a public health disaster, I label my prediction as a prediction and not as a fact. But it is a *fact* that nuclear power is a giant experiment upon the human species, including upon many individuals who do not consent to be guinea pigs.

The fact that no one knows the present or future dose from nukes makes the dose impossible to compare with fallout doses.



"LIGHTER, SMALLER, COMPETITIVE, FUEL-EFFICIENT... I THINK RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT MAY HAVE DONE IT AGAIN!"

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In arguing that *LR* and Dr. Gofman should agitate about coal-fired plants, Mr. Buck and Dr. Orient are barking up the wrong tree. Even before I took a position against nuclear power, I was opposing the sloppy, filthy, careless, callous, murderous misuses of coal. When Senator Edmund Muskie asked me during a Congressional Hearing in 1969 how I felt about killing people by coal emissions, I replied, "Senator, I do not condone homicide with knives any more than with guns."

Ironically, it is my consistency in defending human rights against all sources of pollution which is causing alarm and apoplexy among some passionately protechnology libertarians, who seem to think (temporarily, I'm sure) that random murder in order to achieve affluence (affluence via technology) and/or progress (see below) is the same as killing for self-defense!

I, too, love technology with a passion. My opposition to premeditated random murder by any type of technology does not mean that I belong to the "simple-life-is-better" camp of environmentalists. I love the power of technology (including chemical inventions) to *liberate* humans from repetitive toil (via machinery and tools), from poor health (via sanitation technology, for example), from ignorance of the natural laws (via all sorts of sophisticated research tools), from limited access to the capital of accumulated human ideas, knowledge, music and art (via affordable books, televisions, phonograph discs and tapes, etc.).

But modern technologies developed in a non-libertarian world, and so their producers and users were permitted to violate the rights of third parties with impunity, e.g. they were allowed to pollute third parties, which is trespass. As libertarians, who believe that no individual (or group of individuals) may do anything at all with anyone else's life, liberty, or property without that person's consent, it is perfectly natural for us to insist that producers and users of technologies adjust themselves to respecting our individual human rights!

It can't happen overnight. But it can happen ... apparently without the help of some leading "libertarians" who subordinate their passion for libertarian principles to their passion for technology!

Dr. Orient claims that "the airborne effluents from [coal-fired plants] cause a higher radiation dose than those from nuclear plants." Exceedingly poor to absent science is the basis for that claim, whether or not it was published in *Science* magazine. *The Libertarian Review* can do better! I shall now show that nuclear power generation puts 35 to 81 times more of the naturally radioactive nuclides onto the surface of the Earth than does coal power. Note that this ratio is *exclusive* of the astronomical quantity of manmade (unnatural) radionuclides created by nuclear power plants.

No one disputes that coal contains, in quite variable amounts from source-region to source-region, some radioactive uranium, thorium, and their decay-products. If one wishes to know how much natural radioactivity is brought to the environment by the nuclear power cycle vs. the coal power cycle, it is self-evident that one would compare all parts of the nuclear cycle which put natural radioactivity into the environment with all parts of the coal cycle which do that. It is also self-evident that it would be fraudulent to demonstrate one part of the coal cycle releasing natural radionuclides, and *fail* to demonstrate that part of the nuclear cycle which releases by far most of *its* natural radionuclides! Sadly, precisely this fraud is commonplace in the promotion of "clean" nuclear power.

The honest comparison asks, which of the two fuel cycles (coal power or nuclear power) puts more uranium and decay products into a position to enter the biosphere? The issue is NOT whether the natural radioactivity is spewed out of the stack of a coal plant as fly ash and gas, vs. getting dumped into a huge mound of tailings which leak into rivers and from which radon gas and other materials are carried off on the winds. The issue is, how much natural radioactivities do the two cycles put above ground which would otherwise remain deeply buried in the earth?

The ^{238}Uranium decay series will have the same number of *curies* of every member of the decay chain. Thus, if there is one curie of ^{238}U, there will be one curie of ^{234}U, one curie of ^{230}Th, one curie of ^{226}Ra, and one curie of all further decay products, including ^{222}Radon. It is largely the ^{226}Radium and ^{222}Radon which are the subjects of health concern with respect to natural radioactivities associated with any particular fuel cycle.

So we can look at the nuclear fuel cycle and the coal power cycle with respect to any single member of the uranium decay chain and feel confident that this describes the environmental load of other members of the decay chain.

Let us use ^{238}Uranium as the monitor for the decay-chain which starts with that nuclide, and calculate the quantity of ^{238}U (and necessarily the whole decay-chain) which will be brought to the surface of the Earth for the generation of one megawatt-year of electricity via the uranium light-water-reactor cycle versus the coal-fired electric power cycle.

(a) Uranium in the Nuclear Cycles per Megawatt-Year of Electricity

I have presented the datum that the current light-water-reactor cycle, when performing theoretically, delivers 3.033×10^7 kilowatt-hours (electrical) per short ton of U_3O_8 (which is the "yellowcake" delivered from milling operations). (Ref: Gofman, "Gross Energy Available through Light Water Reactors," May 1977). This is the same as 3.033×10^4 megawatt-hours (electrical) per short ton, and dividing by 8760 hours per year, we have

$$\frac{3.033 \times 10^4}{8760} = 3.46$$ megawatt-years (electrical) per 2000 pounds of U_3O_8. Since there are 454 grams per pound, this means 3.46 megawatt-years(e) from $(2000) \times (454) = 9.08 \times 10^5$ grams of U_3O_8. Therefore the power output is 1 megawatt-year (electrical) from every 2.62×10^5 grams of U_3O_8. But we are interested in uranium, not its oxide, so we use the fact that uranium constitutes 84.8 percent of U_3O_8. Therefore, one megawatt-year(e) requires $(0.848) \times (2.62 \times 10^5$ grams), or 2.22×10^5 grams of uranium itself. These calculations are quite consistent with Nero's estimates for the light water reactor cycle. (Ref: Anthony Nero, *Guidebook to Nuclear Reactors, 1979*).

The summary here is that we must bring to the Earth's surface 222,000 grams of uranium, and of course all the decay products of uranium (including ^{226}Radium and ^{222}Radon), for every megawatt-year of electricity produced by the *nuclear* fuel cycle.

(b) Uranium in the Coal Power Fuel Cycle per Megawatt-Year of Electricity

The United Nations Scientific Committee on Effects of Atomic Radiation provides the datum that 3×10^3 tonnes of coal are used per megawatt-year of electrical power. There will be differences for different coals, but this is a

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reasonable number to work with. From UNSCEAR tabulations, for U.S. coals, there are two values for the members of the decay chain, 0.7 and 0.3 picocuries of uranium per gram of coal. We shall do the calculations for both these values.

First we calculate the number of *grams* of coal per megawatt-year(e), which is $(3 \times 10^3$ tonnes$) \times (10^6$ grams per tonne$) = 3 \times 10^9$ grams of coal. For 0.7 picocuries of ^{238}Uranium per gram of coal, the total uranium brought up with the coal would be $(0.7) \times (3 \times 10^9) = 2.1 \times 10^9$ picocuries for the coal required to produce *one* megawatt-year (electrical). From separate calculations, it can be shown that each gram of uranium represents 3.3×10^5 picocuries of ^{238}U alpha particle activity. Therefore, 2.1×10^9 picocuries represents

$$\frac{(2.1 \times 10^9)}{(3.3 \times 10^5)} = 6364 \text{ grams of}$$

uranium. If we use the UNSCEAR value of 0.3 PCi per gram of coal, the uranium brought up would be 3/7 as much, or $(3/7) \times 6364 = 2727$ grams of uranium in the coal required for one megawatt-year of electrical power.

(c) Comparison of the Nuclear and the Coal Fuel Cycles

If we use the value of 0.7 PCi ^{238}U per gram of coal, the nuclear cycle brings to the earth's surface a much larger quantity of ^{238}U and its decay products than does the coal cycle, the ratio of the amounts being

$$\frac{222{,}000}{6364} = 34.9 \textit{ times as}$$

much from nuclear as from coal cycle.

If we use the lower value for uranium content of coal, of 0.3 picocuries per gram of coal, the ratio is even much more unfavorable for the nuclear fuel cycle, being

$$\frac{222{,}000}{2727} = 81.4 \textit{ times as}$$

much natural radioactivity brought to the surface of the Earth as for the coal cycle.

(d) Summary

Thus the commonly made assertion that there is more natural radioactivity associated with the coal cycle than with the nuclear cycle is wrong by a factor of 35 to 81 times!

This does not *necessarily* mean the dose from the natural nuclides associated with nukes will be 35-81 times higher than the dose associated with coal. The dose-ratio from the *natural* nuclides may be higher than that, lower than that, or about equal, depending on several unknowns. Unknowns include the actual migration and reconcentration of these nuclides in the biosphere, and the likelihood of human irresponsibility, like using some of the uranium tailings for major building projects in Colorado, like damming uranium mill ponds with dams which break, to name real examples.

The whole comparison of the *natural* radioactivity from the coal and nuclear cycles is one device among many which nuclear promoters use successfully to divert people's attention from the totality of the problem, which is *very* much larger.

Furthermore, the comparison does not address the tacit, *un*libertarian assumption that an individual can be legitimately forced to accept either coal pollution or nuclear pollution against his will, by us technology-lovers, as long as we claim it is for the sake of "the economy," "human progress," or (if we dismiss collective benefits) for *individual* affluence and progress!

As for Dr. Orient's assertion that one cannot build an economic solar plant with cartoons, I think she is absolutely right. I have never heard of any power plant being built with cartoons. But if Dr. Orient really wants to know something about the prospects of solar energy, I am surprised she has not read the abundance of serious reports, including some from the Department of Energy, on the excellent progress toward photovoltaic ("solar cells") generation of electricity at costs per kilowatt grossly lower than the costs for the monstrous large-scale plant prototype in the desert.

Dr. Orient might ask herself, *who* wanted this desert-type of solar plant? Is she aware that one of the reasons this approach was taken was probably to show how expensive solar could be, if one tried hard enough to make it so?

Just remove all the non-free-market subsidies and monopoly-powers and liability-limits which protect nuclear power producers. Just let solar energy compete with nuclear energy in a truly free market (for instance, repeal the building codes that are obstacles to solar power), where we honor the human rights against price regulation and guaranteed profits, against eminent domain, against government-granted monopoly, against government-legalized trespass and enforced guinea-piggery! Just try the free market, Dr. Orient, and we will find out if solar plants will be built at competitive costs or not.

However, even in a free market, solar plants will not be built with cartoons. For that illumination, we shall be forever grateful to Dr. Orient. ❑

LR *welcomes letters from readers. Letters intended for publication should be typed, double-spaced, and addressed to: Letters to* LR, *1620 Montgomery, S.F., Cal. 94111.*

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THE MOVEMENT

JONNIE GILMAN

San Francisco was one of six cities that held anti-draft rallies on March 22. The largest protest was in Washington, D.C., others were in L.A., San Diego, Houston and Minneapolis.

MILTON MUELLER

IT'S HARD TO CONVEY in a brief column what the new war threat has done to America's campuses. By linking the issues of energy, foreign policy and the draft into a militaristic "Carter Doctrine," the President seems to have tapped a powerful but heretofore submerged political energy. Between January 23, the date of Carter's State of the Union Address, and March 22, when a march on Washington 30,000 strong was held, an explosion of rallies, teach-ins, debates and coalition-building took place. And the activity is still going on, as organizing conferences across the country attempt to consolidate student opposition.

The scene is far different from the '60s, however. Today's student must confront at the outset at least twenty different, already radicalized ideological groups — among them libertarians — rather than start from scratch. Indeed, the sudden, uncomfortable alliance of leftists and libertarians around the draft issue is one of the most unusual phenomena caused by the campus anti-draft upsurge.

One event in particular packed all the current anti-draft movement's contradictory, chaotic tendencies into a single, crowded hall, there to act out a lurid political opera with an all-star cast. This was the all day teach-in held March 10 at New York University.

The day's concluding panel was to be on "Future Political Alternatives," and featured Barry Commoner on the Citizens Party, Michael Harrington on working for Kennedy within the Democratic Party, Bertell Ollman on the need for a "Revolutionary Socialist Party," and *LR* Editor Roy Childs on libertarianism and the Libertarian Party.

I arrived at New York University near the end of the next-to-the-last panel, the one on "Cold War and Detente." Judging from the periodic outbursts of cheers and hisses, I could have been entering a second-rate prize fight. But no, here was the usual obstacle course of outstretched arms hawking *Worker's Advocate*, the *Militant*, and whatnot. To enter, one had to clear a path through the people at the back of room milling around what must have been sixteen different tables of political groups. Nestled among the outposts of New York's entire leftwing zoo were the New York SLS, the Free Libertarian Party, and the Association of Libertarian Feminists.

Apparently the New York libertarians, not used to participation in left-dominated teach-ins, had reacted to the offhand and continuous assertion of leftist bromides with a futile attempt to argue from the floor microphone before an overwhelmingly hostile audience. As a result, though its relationship to "Cold War and Detente" was not clear to me, libertarianism seemed

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to be a hot topic during the discussion period.

Then it was time for the big name panel, and the room began to fill up. Gradually, the clutter of crooked chairs and political confetti was supplanted by the more orderly sight of rows and rows of faces. Roy Childs spoke first—unfortunately, for this rendered him incapable of speaking directly to any of the points made by the three socialists who followed him.

Speaking very quickly, with a kind of good-natured nervousness, Childs briefly explained what a libertarian is and the principles behind our views on foreign policy, the draft and war. From there, he challenged the audience with what he called "Hayek's dictum" (Hayek's name drew hisses from a few): the more political power comes to direct a society, the more such power becomes the only thing worth having. People will fight and compete for that power, generating a process in which the most ruthless and unscrupulous will rise to the top. Childs contrasted these truths about government power with the "naive views" of Harrington and Commoner, which he dubbed the "Mary Poppins theory of government," drawing some appreciative laughter, Childs concluded by attacking the left and right for having "partial solutions" which are offset by their infatuation with state power in other areas, and by calling for a consistent move toward liberty. On the whole, however, the combative atmosphere made Childs's thrust seem mainly negative, an attack on and differentiation from the left more than a convincing, positive appeal for liberty.

Harrington, to his credit, opened with an appeal for unity among anti-draft forces. Harrington is an accomplished orator, but the rising and falling of his powerful voice has started to take on a slightly shrill edge of late, as if he expects people to disagree with him. Harrington presented the success story of the Communist Party in the 1930s—the decade in which it expanded its influence and membership by becoming the "left wing of the New Deal" — as the model for today's democratic left. While calling the Democratic Party a "sewer" full of racists, imperialists and (worse) capitalists, he asserted that the left would have to accept the fact that the labor, minority and feminist constituencies are all in the Democratic Party. The left should therefore reject ideological "program politics" and go where its people are. Harrington ended with a half-hearted appeal to vote for Kennedy in the New York Democratic primary—"It's something you might want to consider," he said.

Commoner was next. He wove the issue of the draft, energy and foreign policy into a smooth and persuasive case for Citizens Party-style socialism, blaming all our current problems, from racism to energy, on the pursuit of profits. It was the very simplicity — even simple-mindedness—of Commoner's economics which endeared him to the crowd, for they led directly to the conclusion that everything could be set aright if only the right people—"You and I," he said—controlled the government. If we just take over the oilfields in Texas instead of those in the Middle East, the whole energy crisis will be solved, because "we" will then allocate oil "in the national interest." Believe it or not, this is as deep as his political economy goes, for an attempt during the question period to pin him down on *who* would define the national interest and *how* scarce resources would be allocated drew little but a contemptuous brush-off about how the libertarian solution to the energy crisis called for "sending libertarians with shovels down into Texas to search for oil." Commoner had to hurry off right after his speech, after taking a grand total of three questions (and answering none of them).

Bertell Ollman seems a nice fellow; indeed, it was apparently his acquaintance with Murray Rothbard and Roy Childs during the last anti-war movement that was primarily responsible for Childs's participation in the panel. But his talk was, to put it charitably, irrelevant. A soft spoken Marxist scholar who invented the game "Class Struggle," Ollman attempted to synthesize some of the most rarified Marxist political analysis into a case for a Revolutionary Party which would unify the obviously divided, motley crew he was addressing. This kind of theorizing about the messianic emergence of a real Marxist-Leninist Party had all the urgency and intricacy of a medieval scholastic debate.

As soon as Ollman finished, a long line formed behind the floor microphones and the crowd, which had become somewhat restless during Ollman's ruminations about a Labor party, fell into an expectant silence. This, they sensed, *could* be the best part of the panel—a true dialogue between the audience and the panelists. But as soon as the first "questioner" opened her mouth, the atmosphere took a strange, destructive turn.

"This question is directed at Mr. Harrington," she began, and what followed was a five minute speech. Harrington, the woman pointed out, had said the same things about Jimmy Carter in 1976 that he was saying now about Kennedy. In a debate with a Socialist Workers Party candidate he had—

"Ask a question!" someone yelled from the crowd, but the woman continued to denounce Harrington as a sell-out, her voice getting louder and her rhetoric more strident (and the crowd more impatient) with each breath; finally, after a long and detailed account of the futility of working in the Democratic Party, she ended with a pitch for the Socialist Workers Party.

The next "questioner" also directed his comments at Harrington. This one was from the Spartacist League, and he wanted to know—voice rising—why Harrington had supported the Bay of Pigs invasion, and hadn't he worked for the CIA during World War II and ...

Michael Harrington's worn, lined face seemed to become more and more sunken with each successive realization that *this* "questioner" too was going to be issuing yet another strident harangue. It might have been at the fourth or the fifth such realization that Harrington's face sank into his hands and he shook his head from side to side. The audience rebelled and shouted against the long speeches, but the amount of applause for the attacks was surprising.

And Harrington's answers to these "questions" took on a progressively defensive pitch. Oration edged closer to hysteria. "I did *NOT* support the Bay of Pigs ... That's a LIE; I was NEVER a CIA agent ..." Yet throughout it all he pugnaciously stuck to his defense of Carter in 1976; Carter was "better than Ford." He defended Kennedy as the best choice now available; he even had a few good things to say about S. 1772, the Kennedy-backed bill which fights crime by abolishing civil liberties. When Childs's turn came to answer the questions, he began by noting that he felt lucky that libertarians were largely free of this kind of fragmentation—an observation that set Harrington's head, still seemingly circled by leftwing harpies, to nodding miserably.

As we worked our way

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through the thinning crowd toward the exit, we could hear the booming, beseeching voice of Harrington taking a final turn at the mike. "We're trying to get socialists to speak *American* ..." we could hear, and then his voice was covered by that of a small black woman with an African accent trying to sell us *Worker's Advocate,* the pro-Albanian Marxist-Leninist paper.

What "future Political Alternatives" did the NYU students see that night, and how did they come across?

First, they saw libertarianism fairly well represented, but they must have wondered at its combustive relationship to the socialist paradigm prevalent among anti-war forces. By sheer weight of numbers, the statist view dominates the dialogue, putting libertarians in an intrinsically defensive and controversial posture. Still, our representation on such panels has an extremely important effect on the political dialogue. It is, after all, a *paradigm,* an entire way of looking at political issues, that we are trying to change, not merely people's views on specific issues. To accomplish this, to purge American radicalism of its love affair with the state, is an ardous and unpleasant task, comparable to cleaning out the Augean stables, but it must be done.

The position of Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, on the other hand, is clearly untenable; and this becomes quickly apparent in any public discussion. The mere fact that DSOC is likely to end up supporting Carter after Kennedy loses—when Carter is precisely the man responsible for Cold War II—should disqualify it from the leadership of anti-war forces immediately. Out of fairness to DSOC, however, it should be noted that only it seems to explicitly recognize what must be a never-ending source of embarassment to the rest of the left—namely that the labor and minority constituencies it claims to represent clearly *are* in the Democratic Party, to the extent that they are politically active at all. Just as clear, however, is the fact that the only socialism the Democratic Party is capable of bringing to America is war socialism, the guns and butter socialism of FDR, LBJ and Jimmy Carter. Yet, as Harrington notes, no leftist forces working outside the Democratic Party have ever gotten anywhere in America. Thus can the virulence of the rage inspired by Harrington and DSOC be explained: it is the left raging against its own impotence.

Commoner and the Citizens Party represent an attempt to break out of that impotence; yet at the same time the Citizens Party is almost as far removed from the labor-oriented socialism of the '30s as libertarians are. It actually represents the politics of the New Class, the socialism of university professors and big foundations, of cause lawyers, career bureaucrats and media talk-show hosts. It is the professional class seeking to expand the ethic of bureaucratic planning to the economy as a whole, and its politics is informed by a deep conviction that the main problem is simply that the wrong people are in power. If only they, the good guys, "took power" — and Commoner used those precise words several times — then we could plan our way out of the energy crisis and everything else. Universities, especially elite universities, are ideally suited to the cultivation of such a New Class politics, due to their bureaucratic structure and their insulation from the market. Thus when Commoner told the NYU crowd of mostly white, upper middle class "radical" university students that "the Citizens Party is *your* Party" he was literally correct. It is.

ROY A. CHILDS, JR.

THE CAMPAIGN OF LIBertarian Presidential candidate Ed Clark continues to accelerate both in pace and in media coverage, as the Republican and Democratic nominations increasingly seem to be sewed up by Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. Despite his wins in Massachusetts, New York and Pennsylvania, Kennedy's delegate totals continue to lag far behind Carter's, and Carter is showing himself increasingly adept at buying votes in key states through selected federal grants — usually given just before primaries. Despite the media's love affair with John Anderson, the Anderson campaign has gone nowhere with the rank-and-file in the Republican party, forcing the self-infatuated Anderson to boost his ego instead by running as an independent. Bush's victory in Pennsylvania was not enough to lift him out of the rut in which his campaign finds itself, and although he may stick with the campaign down to the wire, his chances of snatching the nomination from frontrunner Reagan now seem on a par with those of the Ayatollah Khomeini.

In the meantime, Citizens Party candidate Barry Commoner has lurched into the ring, armed with a bromidic left-wing platform which would, above all else, fasten the grip of the federal government on the energy system in this country.

While Clark's Libertarian campaign has yet to receive much attention from national television, or much from *Time, Newsweek* or other guardians of the establishment, it has received a great deal of attention from local media, most of it fair, objective, even favorable. At the Libertarian Party headquarters in Washington, D.C., clippings about Clark and the Libertarian Party from newspapers all over the country fill several large boxes, and more continue to pour into the offices every day.

One of the chief disputes between Ed Clark and Bill Hunscher during their campaign for the Libertarian Presidential nomination was the issue of a full-time campaign, and Clark's apparent unwillingness to campaign full-time from the outset. But if Clark has not yet been campaigning full-time, he has certainly been coming close. Campaign appearances during March, April and May were intense: Clark spoke in New Jersey on March 1 and 2, in San Francisco on the seventh, and in San Rafael at a fundraising dinner on the ninth; then he flew to Alaska for appearances on the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, spoke in Illinois on the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first, giving a major statement on inflation in Chicago on the last day of his campaign visit there, and travelled to Albany, New York, for the state Libertarian Party convention of the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth. He received significant local television, radio and newspaper coverage nearly everywhere. On April eleventh and twelfth, Clark's campaign took him to Columbia, South Carolina and to Raleigh, North Carolina. On the thirteenth he settled down with advisors for a day of strategy talks in Washington, D.C.

Clark returned to Alaska April 18-20, appeared in Memphis, Tennessee on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, flew to Houston on May 1, appeared at the Libertarian Party convention in Dallas the following day, and then rushed back to Washington, D.C., to attend the prestigious White House Correspondents' dinner as a guest of *U.S. News* on the third. A fundraiser was scheduled in Los Angeles on May 8, to be followed by campaign swings through

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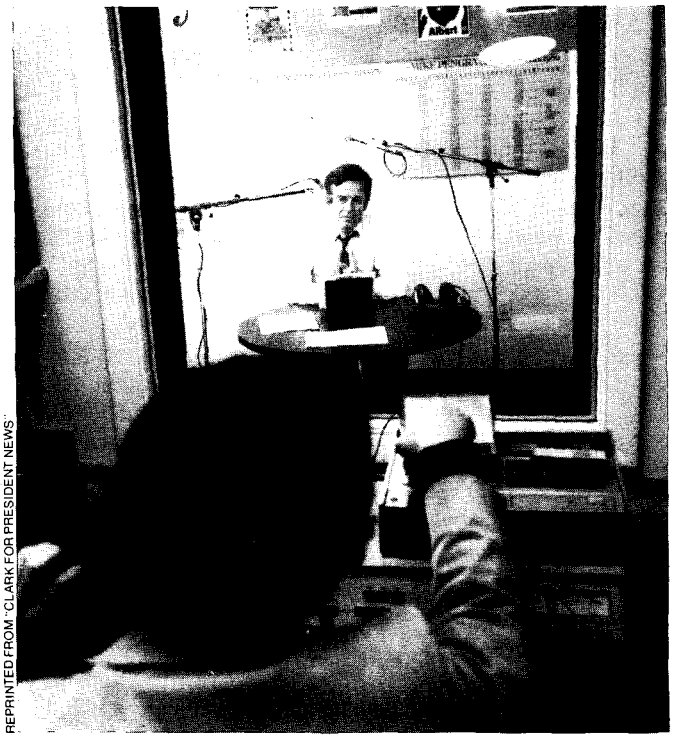

REPRINTED FROM "CLARK FOR PRESIDENT NEWS"

A poll by Opinion Research, Inc. showed that Ed Clark would receive 8 percent of the vote in a race with Carter and Reagan.

such cities as Las Vegas, Phoenix, Detroit, Louisville, Honolulu, and Indianapolis. Then it was back to Los Angeles for another fundraiser on the twenty-eighth of May.

At first blush, the independent candidacy of John Anderson looks as though it may hurt Clark's campaign, but straws are in the wind suggesting that Anderson's highly-touted run may fall on its face. So far, the Anderson campaign's biggest asset has been media attention occasioned by a general abhorrence of both Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter, combined with Anderson's novelty. But that novelty appears to be wearing a bit thin, as the media begin to notice a certain element of meanness and arrogance in Anderson, a strong streak of righteous megalomania, and his constant self-puffery about his "principles" and his "integrity."

Both of these are being increasingly called into question. Anderson's general demeanor suggests that the proper place for the man may not be the White House, but rather the august office of high school principal, one of the meaner sorts, in some priggish, puritanical school district. But when we focus on the man's record, as the media are beginning to do, his claim to the mantle of "principle" and "integrity" seems about on a par with Jimmy Carter's claim to the mantle of "honesty" or Richard Nixon's claim that he was a "man of peace."

Already cracks are beginning to show in the Anderson façade. In the March 24 *Village Voice,* Joe Conason and Jack Newfield did a job on the Anderson record, in an article called "John Anderson: A Hoax, Not a Hope." Since Anderson postures as someone who is against nuclear power and against militarism, they decided to look at his record, and found that:

> Along with John Wydler and Mike McCormack, he has been one of the nuclear industry's most vocal champions in the Congress. He repeatedly voted for the Clinch River Breeder Reactor.... He was asked once whether he was the author of the infamous Price-Anderson bill, which offered insurance subsidies and liability to the nuclear industry. No, he replied with his winning smile, but he would have been proud to have written the bill himself. And he has the votes to prove it. In 1974, he voted against an amendment which would have cut off Price-Anderson in 1979 rather than 1987. And in 1975, he voted against the Bingham amendment, an effort to remove Price-Anderson's $560 million limitation on nuclear industry liability in a nuclear accident.... Anderson's pronuclear votes are the most consistent part of his record, and the pattern isn't limited to 'peaceful' nuclear energy. In 1977, he voted in favor of development of the neutron bomb.

Conason and Newfield also noted Anderson's support of such things as the B-1 bomber. The disillusionment reflected in the *Village Voice* is likely to spread as Anderson comes under close and less fawning scrutiny than he has faced thus far.

While Clark has not been getting the national press attention of Anderson, a recent poll commissioned by the Clark for President staff shows Clark to have real potential in the November election—if he can succeed in getting his message across to the American people. Opinion Research, Inc., a mainstream polling organization working out of Princeton, New Jersey, recently released the results of a study which surveyed 1200 Americans between the ages of 18 and 40. The results were more than encouraging.

The poll found that 47 percent of those surveyed said they believed a strong third party would revitalize our political system; 39 percent disagreed. But an astonishing 45 percent said they would support a third party candidate whose major planks were much lower taxes and much less American intervention in the affairs of other nations—a "criss-crossing" of issues which really shows how far removed many people are from the traditional liberal-conservative pigeonholes. Forty-five percent said they would not support such a candidate, and 10 percent were undecided. With the Clark campaign's combination of drastic tax cuts and a call for a noninterventionist foreign policy, a significant headway can be made here.

Other results: 69 percent favor a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget for the federal government; 71 percent believe the Social Security system is not financially sound (the Clark campaign will issue a major White Paper on Social Security this summer); 63 percent favor a major Clark proposal: federal income tax credits to assist parents in sending their children to the schools of their choice; 57 percent disapprove of the U.S. getting involved in the domestic affairs of other nations; 60 percent say that anti-American sentiment in the Third World is a direct result of U.S. intervention, while only 30 percent say such sentiment is the result of other factors; and 69 percent say that the approximately 60 percent of our defense budget that goes to defend other nations is too high.

In a final surprising poll result, in a trial heat against Carter and Reagan, Ed Clark, whose 60 projected five-minute television commercials for the campaign have not yet even *begun,* comes in with an astonishing 8 percent of the vote.

While public opinion is highly volatile these days, Libertarians should remember that the volatility can go either way. Faced with an uphill battle, Libertarians can mount a tough campaign this year on all levels, and break through to a position of permanent importance on the American political scene. With hundreds of candidates running in nearly every state in the union, this may well be the year that Libertarians make their mark, setting the stage for major victories in the years to come. ❑

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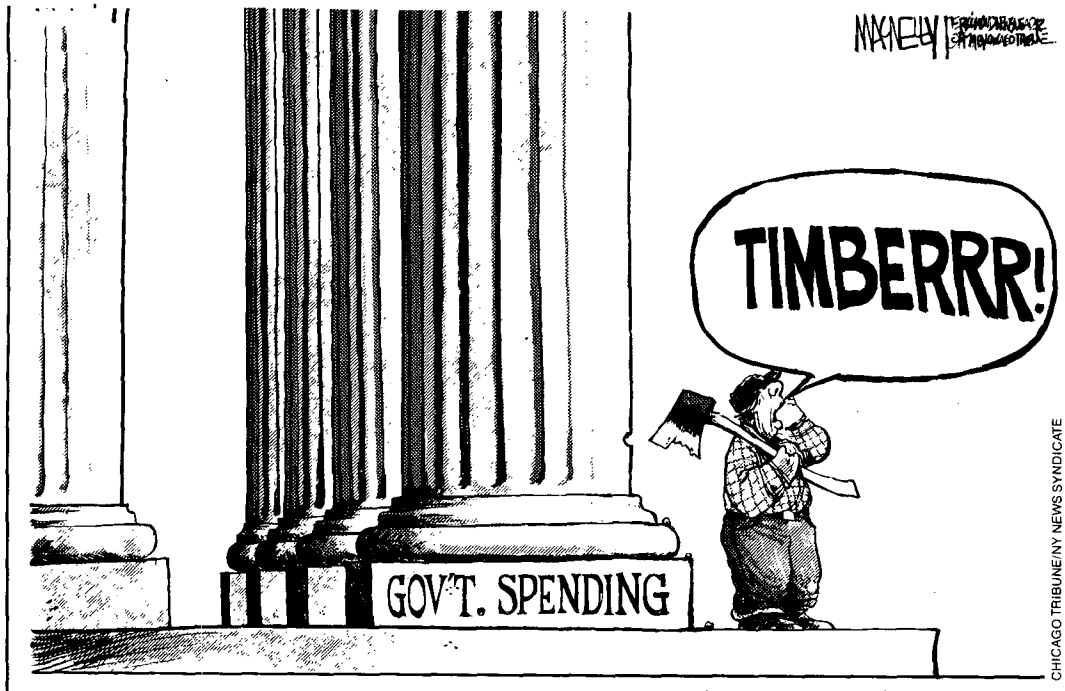

Prop. 13, two years later

BRUCE BARTLETT

ON JUNE 3, CALIFORNIA voters will once again have gone to the polls to vote on a major tax reduction initiative sponsored by Howard Jarvis—Proposition 9. The new Jarvis proposition, nicknamed "Jaws II," would cut California income tax rates in half, thus doing for income taxes what was done for property taxes two years ago by Proposition 13. By all accounts, the measure should pass easily, once again putting California in the forefront of the tax revolt and increasing pressure on politicians in Washington to follow suit or risk the wrath of voters in November.

The relatively easy time Jarvis has had with Proposition 9, in contrast to the massive opposition mounted against Proposition 13 by the California establishment, is largely due to the fact that the predictions of gloom and doom by state government and business leaders if Proposition 13 passed have not only not materialized but were 180 degrees off the mark. It was the proponents of Proposition 13 and unconventional economists like Arthur Laffer at USC who have been proven correct.

Virtually every study of Proposition 13 done since its passage has concluded that the measure had very positive effects on the California economy. And despite the radical nature of the measure, its effect on state and local governments has largely been to slow their growth, rather than to cut them with a meat-ax. As the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco reported last year: "The irony of Proposition 13—perhaps its redeeming feature—is that it neither drastically reduced the size of government (as desired by many proponents) nor led to statewide economic chaos (as predicted by staunch opponents). In fact, in its first year it strongly stimulated the state's economy, because taxpayers experienced a permanent reduction in property taxes while the state government was spending its surplus."

The report went on to note that during its first year Proposition 13 caused personal income in California to increase by 15 percent—one of the highest increases in the nation—while unemployment dropped much more rapidly than the national rate, despite a loss of 100,000 local government jobs. Indeed, the impact of Proposition 13 was so great it actually increased state tax revenues — almost a textbook example of the "Laffer Curve" in action. (Laffer postulates that if tax rates are too high they reduce economic growth to such an extent that tax revenues fall. Conversely, a reduction in such rates would cause revenues to rise above what they otherwise would have been.)

According to a recent report by the Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce, in the *Survey of Current Business* (November 1979), state tax revenues increased so strongly after passage of Proposition 13 that despite passage of a $4.3 billion bailout for local governments the accumulated state surplus only declined $1.2 billion in fiscal 1979. In fiscal 1980 revenue growth will cause the surplus to decline a mere $700 million despite another $4.9 billion in bailout expenditures. The report concludes that in fiscal 1981 the state should be able to continue the bailout from current revenues, with no net decrease in the state surplus, and that by fiscal 1982 the surplus should begin to increase again. (Of course, this does not take into considera-

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tion the effects of Proposition 9, nor of last year's Proposition 4, initiated by Paul Gann, which limited state and local government spending.)

Perhaps the major question to be asked now is why, despite the success of Proposition 13 on the California economy and the political popularity of tax and spending limitation movements in California and other states (according to the *Wall Street Journal* some 36 states have been affected by post-Proposition 13 tax revolt action), the Federal Government has remained untouched. One answer is that there is no federal initiative process to force Washington to act. Another is that politicians were so quick to adopt tax-revolt rhetoric in time for the November, 1978 elections that the results did not truly reflect tax revolt sentiment, which will resurface with force in November, 1980, following two years of inaction at the federal level. And lastly there is the view that the balanced budget movement has helped defuse the tax revolt by giving liberals an out. The leaders of this movement have successfully pandered to conservatives by promising a balanced budget in lieu of tax reduction, knowing full well that the budget can just as easily be balanced by raising taxes as by cutting spending. Moreover, conservatives have been caught in the dilemma of wanting massive increases in defense spending at the same time. Unfortunately, conservatives have opted for more defense spending and a budget balanced by raising taxes, rather than pressing ahead for measures such as the Kemp-Roth bill to cut federal income tax rates by a third. If they had heeded the lessons of Proposition 13 they would know that it is not a question of either having tax reduction or a balanced budget, but of forcing government to give you both. ❑

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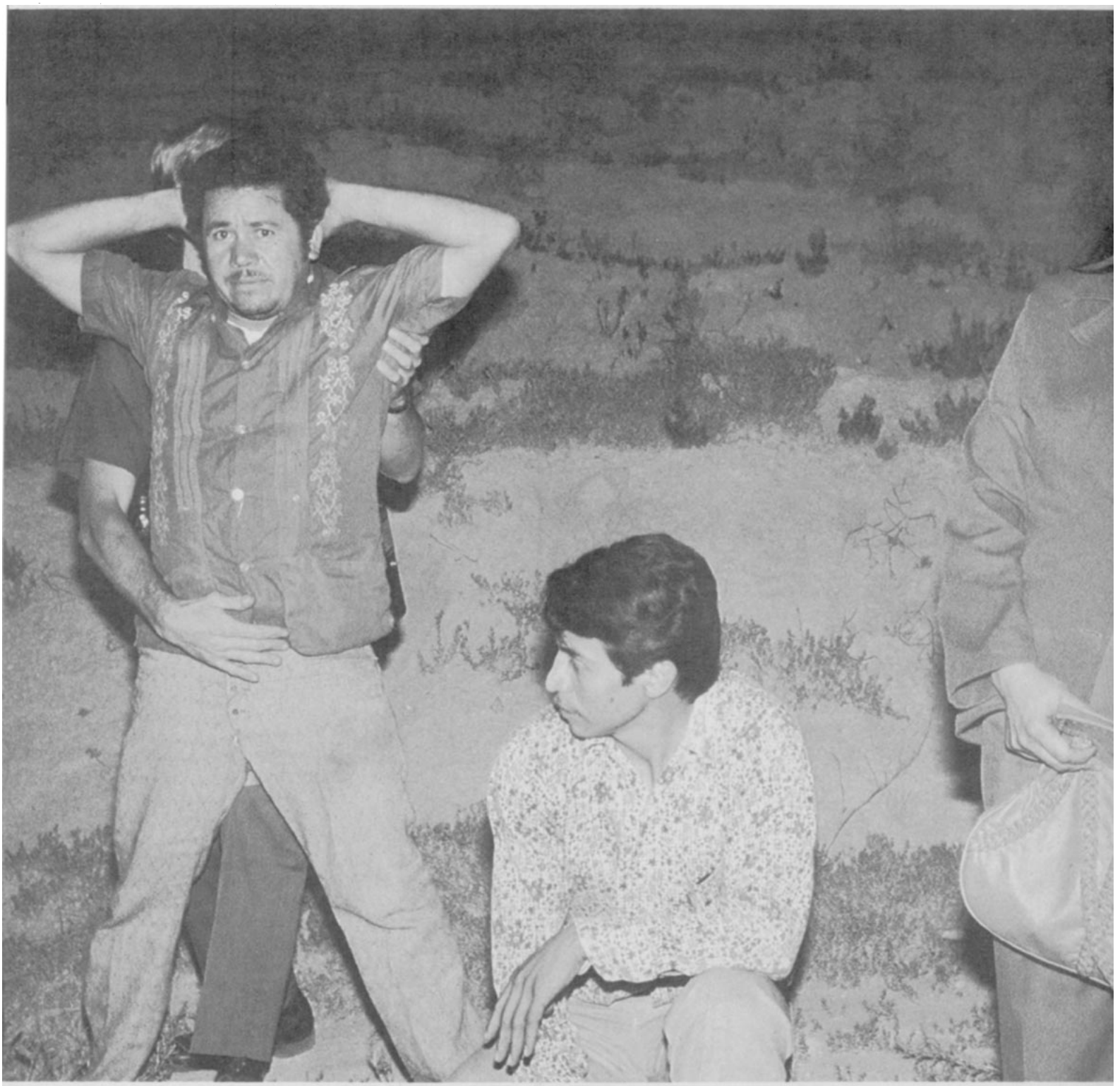

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GUARDIANS AT THE GATE

SYGMA

INS's War Against Immigrants

JUSTIN RAIMONDO

On January 31 of this year, Immigration and Naturalization Service agent Michael Kennedy, 24, was ordered held without bond by a U.S. magistrate. Kennedy, a security officer assigned to the INS border inspection station at San Ysidro, California, had been charged by the Justice Department with the rape and murder of a 19-year-old Mexican woman who was caught trying to enter the U.S. illegally.

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Donald Cameron, the Border Patrol chief at San Ysidro, California, calls this "the sixteen hottest miles of border in the world." The infamous fence is riddled with holes, but the canyons west of Interstate 5, and a route through huge water drain pipes, both watched by electronic sensors, are frequently used by "a proud and unstoppable people" who are willing to risk everything for a better life.

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Maria Lopez de Felix, a resident of Tijuana, was discovered by immigration officials last November 25, hiding in the trunk of an automobile driven by her sister-in-law. Ms. Lopez was detained at San Ysidro, after which she agreed to return voluntarily to Mexico. Then, according to the *New York Times:* "Officer Kennedy allegedly escorted the woman into the pedestrian corridor leading back to Mexico, then led her through two gates and into the United States. Based on physical evidence found at the scene, the Justice Department has accused Mr. Kennedy of raping and strangling the woman in an abandoned customs building.

"According to [San Diego U.S. Attorney Michael H.] Walsh, *Mr. Kennedy has been a suspect since last March in the murder of another Mexican woman* near San Ysidro. That case is still under investigation, and no charges have been filed. [emphasis added]"

Despite a plethora of liberal/environmentalist apologies for the INS—*The Golden Door: International Migration, Mexico, and the United States,* by Paul and Anne Erlich and Loy Bilderback, for example, says that "the [Border] Patrol is doing its job as best it can with a high degree of honesty"—it is really no longer possible to whitewash the agency's sorry record of brutality, corruption, and bureaucratic empire-building. Add rape to all that, and quite possibly murder, and what have you got? Officer Kennedy was allowed to remain on duty at the border up until January 31st after having been under suspicion of murder for nearly a year. It is true that the INS is having trouble keeping personnel—but when it gets to the point that it recruits rapists and murderers to do its job, then maybe the job isn't worth doing. When pressed for some excuse, of even the most perfunctory sort, to explain why they kept a suspected murderer on the Border Patrol payroll, officials of the General Services Administration declared that they were "looking into the matter."

Nor is this case unique. Last March, two undocumented workers were shot by a Border Patrol agent after he had arrested them thirty yards inside U.S. territory and handcuffed them together. One of his prisoners died shortly afterward. According to the *New York Times* (8/25/79):

The Border Patrol said that the agent had acted in self-defense after the two men had tried to strangle him with the handcuffs that bound them. But the San Diego District Attorney investigated and found that the aliens had been shot while attempting to flee back to Mexico.

The District Attorney declined to file charges, however, noting that the Border Patrol officer had been on duty "in a combat-zone atmosphere." Nor has the United States Attorney in San Diego taken any action against any of the officers involved in such incidents, prompting several lawyers in the Federal Defender's office to label the Justice Department "a washing machine from which allegations against the Border Patrol 'come out clean.'"

"A combat-zone atmosphere." Here, at last, it is finally admitted: the U.S. government has declared war on Mexican-American immigrants, and is presently engaged in what is virtually a military campaign on the southern border. Donald Cameron, the Border Patrol chief at San Ysidro, California, calls this "the sixteen hottest miles of border in the world." Herman Baca, a local Chicano activist, dubs the area "the Vietnam of the Southwest."

And the Indochinese analogy is not mere literary flourish. The shoe fits. Consider the following description of the routine of typical members of the Border Patrol: "They were not hurt, but others have been, and badly. One has a steel plate in his head, and there are places along the boundary where Mr. Munch is now afraid to drive, even though he is far from alone. Above him ... helicopters, searchlights blazing and loudspeakers blaring the warning 'go back,' dip and wheel in the inky sky." Meanwhile, "all across the hills behind him, other agents, many of them veterans of the Vietnam war, peer at the border through special night-vision scopes." Why does this vignette of the Tijuana "combat zone" (which appeared under John Crewsdon's byline in the 8/20/79 *New York Times*) sound like an account of the Tet offensive? Armed with high technology snooping devices perfected during the war in Vietnam, the Border Patrol is fighting a similar enemy in a similar way—and with similar results. The Indochinese analogy is both a prophecy and a warning—because, of course, we all remember who won the war there.

Unholy alliance

Of course, it would be impossible for the INS to continue fighting what amounts to a war on our southern border without broad-based support from significant power groups. In fact, a seemingly unlikely alliance of Big Labor, outright racists, and white middle-class "environmentalists" has been forged to keep immigration requirements stringent. The interests of these diverse groups intersect at a single point, in spite of their other differences: each member of this unsavory triumvirate has always fought to increase the role of government in society.

Big Labor is on the decline in this country, and cannot therefore afford to be either magnanimous or enlightened. Organized labor as a percentage of the total work force has been in decline since the late '40s and is going downhill fast. And despite the best efforts of union liberals, all attempts to change Big Labor's steadfast opposition to a general amnesty for undocumented workers have failed—have in fact, produced the opposite result. On Monday, February 25, 1979, the AFL-CIO national convention reaffirmed labor's traditional support for the INS's ongoing war against so-called illegal aliens. A resolution urging amnesty for undocumented workers was overwhelmingly defeated — and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) bureaucrats who had authored it promptly turned around and voted against their own motion in the interest of unanimity. "Our original proposals may have been idealistic," warbled Sol Chaiken, ILGWU president, "but as a pragmatist, I knew they could not be accepted." Chaiken and his liberal friends also ended by voting with the majority in favor of penalties against employers who hire illegals, and for government-issued, "counterfeit-proof" worker identification cards similar to those issued to blacks by the South African government. Labor's well-known concern over the "exploitation" of Mexican-Americans apparently does not prevent it from calling for such measures — and for the strengthening of the Border Patrol. Apparently, it is "exploitation" to employ the unemployed, but it's o.k. to shut them out altogether.

Labor's argument that illegals take jobs away from Americans is a myth which serves no purpose other than to excuse the use of government force to maintain a permanent, largely white labor "aristocracy" in this country. At least half a dozen studies show that, far from being a burden, the "illegal alien problem" is in fact a windfall. Most of the undocumented workers in this country are young and highly productive Mexican-Americans whose health care, education, and other costs of rearing have been borne by Mexico. And as social scientist Wayne Cornelius of UC San Diego's Center for Mexican-American Studies has said: "The significance of this windfall becomes more apparent when one considers that, as of 1977, the cost of preparing a U.S.-born man or

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In 1978 the rate for a first class smuggling job was $300, which included transportation of the client into the U.S. interior. Slip-ups, whether due to black marketeer dishonesty or the high technology of the INS, lead to thousands of arrests per year. Because the INS has the power to "arrest any alien or person believed to be an alien," many arrests, even deportations, include Mexican-American citizens.

SYGMA

WIDE WORLD

MAGNUM PHOTOS

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woman for integration into the U.S. labor force was about $44,000." These illegals pay millions into the Social Security trust fund which they will never collect; they also pay state income, sales, and property taxes for which they receive little or no benefits. The liberals have coined the phrase "undocumented worker"—but, given the facts, *undocumented taxpayer* is a much more appropriate name.

Racist stereotypes

There is an overlap here between the arguments of Big Labor and the arguments of outright racists: the racist arguments in favor of immigration restrictions feed, in large part, on the same passions and misconceptions utilized by the labor aristocracy. The idea that Mexican immigrants in particular are a drain on the U.S. economy is central to the racist argument. Yet reference to the actual facts quickly dispels the untenable caricature of the "illegal alien welfare bum." In San Diego county—the big entry point for most Mexican immigrants — a 1977-78 screening for welfare, Medi-Cal and food stamp recipients found 317 illegals in a caseload of 285,000. Only 9 percent of these had received public medical care; 2.8 percent had collected welfare payments; 1.6 percent had collected food stamps. Milton Friedman's view — expressed in his recent PBS "Free to Choose" series—that unrestricted immigration is unthinkable until the welfare state is significantly reduced simply does not stand up to the test of reality. In fact, the illegals—due to a combination of caution and immigrant pride—view the welfare system with suspicion and contempt. The figures show that Friedman's cost-benefit analysis is way off this time: a 1977 San Diego government task force estimates that illegals in that county pay a minimum of $98.8 million in taxes annually, while on the other hand a 1977 survey by the Human Resources Commission reports that the cost of *all* services for illegals totals only $2 million a year.

The racist stereotype of the Mexican worker as "docile and desperate" — one who, in the words of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, will "undercut the wages and working conditions of American workers" — is also utter nonsense. That characterization did fit the poor, defenseless "wetbacks" imported by the government-sponsored *bracero* program, which brought in limited numbers of Mexican workers at fixed wages right after World War II, but the better educated, urbanized illegal of today will not accept just any job. According to Wayne Cornelius, "The demand for their labor is sufficiently high in most urban labor markets that they can, and do, change employers when they feel they are being exploited and abused." (Cited by Lou Cannon: *The Guardian*, 8/26/79; p. 17) Of course, the real, unabashed ugliness of openly racist sentiment is exemplified not by the AFL-CIO's prettified racism, but by the successful efforts of Ku Klux Klan members to organize vigilantes, beginning in 1979, to patrol the U.S.-Mexican border.

Zero Mexican-American growth

However, the bulk of the pressure to further constrict the free flow of immigration comes neither from Big Labor nor from avowed racists, but from a source that is more subtle—and much more respectable. What is more respectable these days, than environmentalism? Yet no more formidable obstacle stands in the way of the young Mexican immigrant than the white, middle-class environmentalist movement. As the authors of *The Golden Door* freely admit: "The very success of the zero population growth movement seems to carry with it the seeds of a movement to restrict immigration." Carter administration consultant Philip Martin is even more straightforward: "Liberal environmentalists," he says, "are the most powerful opponents of increased immigration today."

What the environmentalists hate is precisely what attracts illegals to this country in the first place—economic growth. In the *The Golden Door*, Stanford University biologist Paul Erlich, whose 1968 book *The Population Bomb* helped launch the zero population growth movement, vividly describes his own dream of a pastoral, unchanging, "steady-state" world:

> Suppose ... that a combination of shortages and minidisasters finally convinced everyone that trying to run the same collapsing economic machine ever faster will just not work. As a result, there might be a transition toward a steady-state or "spaceship" economy in which all nations adopted programs calling for highly efficient use of energy and materials, with energy supplies based mainly on the output of the sun ... ecological restraints would finally be recognized as placing fundamental boundaries on human activities. In short, humanity would decide to live with nature rather than attempt to conquer it.
>
> Imagine further (as long as we are pipe dreaming) that all of these developments contributed to a trend toward equity in the world, and over-developed [sic] nations like the United States *started to de-develop*. Laws could be passed to encourage high standards of durability in consumer goods.... The activities of the petrochemical industry would also be reduced as the production of plastic junk and synthetic pesticides declined.
>
> As various anti-social activities such as freeway-building and purveying of junk food fell off, the United States might shift its human ingenuity and productivity toward conversion to a sustainable society. [p.317, emphasis added]

This neo-feudalistic pipe dream of a solar-powered, "de-developed" America in which eating at McDonalds is an "antisocial" act has no use, and no room, for newcomers. The spirit of adventure, the pioneer mentality which built this country (and which continues to build it as new immigrants reach our shores) is anathema to the advocates of this profoundly pessimistic scenario—a scenario which is also a rationale for government intervention on an unprecedented scale. For as far as the advocates of this "steady-state" society are concerned, *any* sort of travel will threaten the "fragile ecological balance" of their new Eden. "It is even conceivable that nearly everyone would stay put," say the authors of *The Golden Door*. "With the exception of people who moved for reasons relating to health, business, or family commitments, nearly everyone would be satisfied with their [sic] present locations." (p. 319) This is a vision of "de-development" which has devolved right back to the feudal concept of the serf bound to the land.

Yet the bogeyman of the population explosion, the real heart of the environmentalist argument, ignores the following facts:

(1) Immigration accounts for less than 20 percent of U.S. population growth.

(2) Most illegals have no intention of staying in the United States. According to figures compiled by the Center for Mexican-American Studies in San Diego — as well as a similar study done by the *Collegio* in Mexico City—the vast majority of undocumented workers in the U.S. remain permanent residents of Mexico, while continuing to work in the U.S. seasonally.

(3) The reproductive patterns of immigrant populations tend to approximate those of the host country very quickly. Thus, the Mexican birth-rate of 6.3 children per family has

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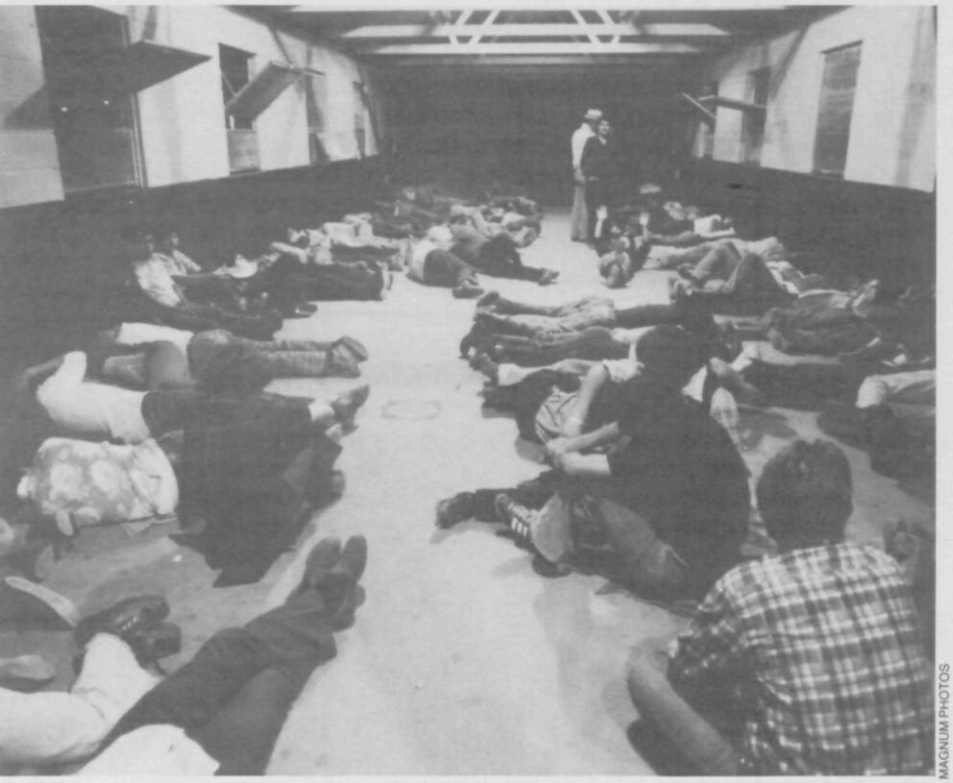
Inflated figures on the numbers of aliens crossing the border each year are based on the INS's L-213 forms, which are filled out for each apprehension of an illegal, every time the crew of a foreign ship overstays a visit, or when an INS official suspects the presence of an alien. That most illegals are not permanent residents is not considered. In fact, we do not have reliable statistics on illegal immigration.



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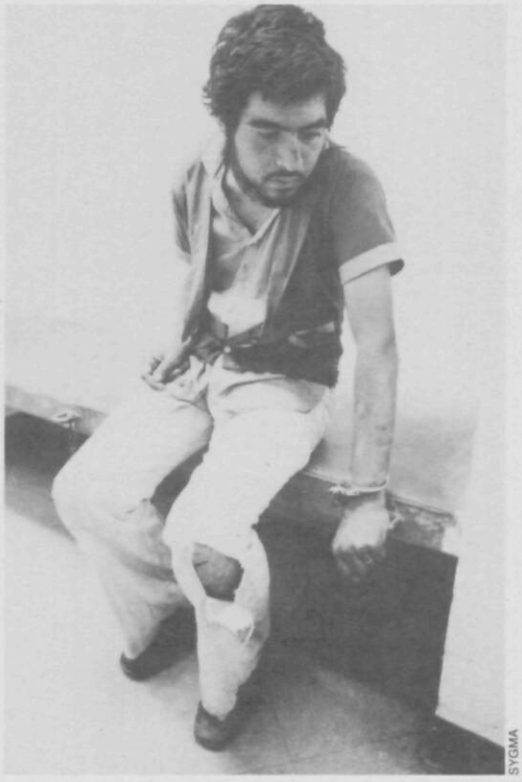

SYGMA

fallen off in the Chicano community in this country, and is now much closer to the American average of 2.3.

The population explosion scenario is only a red herring, of course, a diversion away from the *real* soul of this kind of "environmentalism." If you want to discover the real substance of the white, middle-class fear of a brown-skinned "invasion," read this passage from *The Golden Door:*

> If native Americans continue unrepentantly in their traditional "prosperity," that is, a resource-gobbling, environment-destroying life-style, then America will continue to attract immigrants, legal and illegal, who will strive to do the same. If the past is any guide, most immigrants will sooner or later achieve a standard of living that is not significantly different from the native-born. After all, this is what attracts most immigrants in the first place. Thus, adding people to the U.S. population would increase the total American impact on global resources and environment....
>
> Babies, after all, do not begin to have their full environmental impact until at least two decades after birth—when they begin to drive Cadillacs, build houses, eat steaks, or occupy seats on airliners. [p. 325]

On "spaceship Earth," you see, only those who are *already* driving Cadillacs, building houses, eating steaks, and occupying seats on airliners will be permitted to do so. In the doomsday world of the eco-freaks, the desire to improve one's lot is not a virtue, but a vice. Yet despite all the pious imprecations against prosperity and "resource-gobbling," nobody—especially not the authors of *The Golden Door*—expects the American people to give up the benefits of relative affluence and advanced technology. Unable to outlaw these things outright, all the environmentalists can succeed in doing is limiting the undeniable benefits of economic growth to a privileged, nearly all-white elite. By upholding complete stasis as a moral and political ideal, the "liberal" environmentalists have become the most conservative worshippers of the status quo.

It is therefore not at all surprising that the National Parks and Conservation Association (NPCA) has joined with groups like the American Legion and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, as well as with various labor unions, in calling for stricter enforcement of the immigration laws. "Under the Carter administration the posture has essentially been 'once you're here, you're safe,'" says Gerda Bikales, population

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program officer for the NPCA. "We think there should be much more meaningful enforcement of our present laws."

Thus, Mexican immigrants face not only the challenge of a new language, a new culture, and a new life; they also must come face to face with the well-organized, well-financed, and *government-supported* labor/racist/environmentalist alliance. This anti-immigrant coalition has, in government, an invaluable ally — government not only gives the coalition's prejudices the force of law, it also helps to insure that public discussion of the immigration issue is dominated by hysterical anti-immigrant propaganda.

Los mojados

Even the most basic information concerning Mexican-American immigrants has been distorted — and, in some cases, *invented*—by the government. Even such a question as "How many illegals are there in the U.S.?" has been "answered" with careful attention to the interests of the INS and its apologists. On December 8, 1975, for example, the INS issued a news release (as part of then-Commissioner Leonard F. Chapman's campaign to get more funding from Congress) which claimed that the number of illegals was increasing "by about 250,000 per year, or more." The release also stated: "An earlier study done for INS by Lesko Associates, Inc., estimated the number of illegal aliens in the nation at eight million."

What was ignored by that news release was a letter by Richard G. Darman (author of an INS policy analysis upon which the release was based) to his employer, which stated the truth of the matter: "Currently available statistics do not permit reliable determination of the number of illegal aliens in the country, or of the percent of these in the labor market or on welfare...."

The plain fact of the matter is that nobody knew then just how many illegal aliens were coming into the country—just as nobody knows now how many there are, for the simple reason that the illegal nature of this particular activity makes such accuracy impossible. There are really two questions involved here: How many are coming in? How many are here at any given time? "No one knows the answer to these questions," says Erlich & Co. in *The Golden Door,* "and no one is very close to finding out."

Yet the illegal alien scare campaign initiated by an ambitious bureaucrat concerned solely with expanding his domain was soon picked up by *Newsweek:*

> For instance, in early 1978 *Newsweek* assured its readers that "Texas ... has perhaps 50,000 school-age illegal aliens." While giving age-specific data on the illegal alien population is remarkable enough, they also predicted the future, for elsewhere they asserted that "about 1.5 million Mexicans are expected to slip into the U.S. in 1978." A few months earlier, *Newsweek* declared that the number of illegal aliens who entered this country prior to 1970 and are still here "totals no more than 5,000,000 persons." Almost a year later, in January 1979, *Newsweek* was mesmerized by big, round, inaccurate numbers. According to the magazine, "a fresh flow of about one million immigrants, legal and illegal," was entering the United States each year from Mexico. There was no indication of where this fanciful figure might have come from. [p. 180, *The Golden Door*]

Actually, there is *every* indication of where those fanciful figures might have come from—they can be traced straight back to the INS, by way of court intellectuals like Melanie Wirken, director of Zero Population Growth's immigration project, who declared in the mid-1970s that 800,000 illegals per year were entering this country, and Garrett Hardin, professor of "Human Ecology" at the University of California at Santa Barbara, who wrote: "Numerous students of the problem (in government and out) estimate the true number of illegals [entering annually] is not less than 800,000 and may be more than 1,200,000." (cited in *The Golden Door,* p. 180) A year later Hardin upped his estimate to 1.7 million. And according to *The Golden Door,* both Wirkin and Hardin got their information straight from the horse's mouth—General Leonard F. Chapman.

These incredible figures are in fact based on the number of I-213 forms filled out and filed each year by INS personnel. An I-213 is filled out for each apprehension of an illegal, and for every occasion on which the crew of a foreign ship or plane overstays a visit; such forms may also be filled out to report an INS officer's suspicion of the presence of an illegal alien. This is what Chapman, Hardin, and Wirken mean when they say that this country is being "overrun" by an "illegal alien" invasion — what they really mean is that the INS is being overrun by I-213 forms.

The government's assertions about *why* immigrants come to the United States are just as unfounded. The two most common—that the *mojados* (or "wets") come here to take jobs from Americans and welfare checks from taxpayers—are almost completely divorced from reality. The immigrants have in fact created *new* businesses and *new* jobs. Usually, Mexican immigrants do not directly compete with American citizens for the same jobs. And even when they do, their very presence in the economy means that an entirely new market has come into existence, and that, in turn, means economic growth. Despite the current popularity of the "environmentalist ethic," most Americans consider this a benefit, not a threat.

The INS-pushed racist image of the lazy, devious "Frito Bandito" is nothing but a lie. The truth is that the *mojados* are not very "alien" at all. The North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) and other pioneer investigators in this field contend that:

(1) Latin American illegals are primarily from urban areas; "They were neither the chronic unemployed," reports NACLA, "nor the poorest in their societies." Most were employed.

(2) Relative to the folks back in El Salvador, or Sinaloa province in Mexico, these newcomers have a high degree of education. One study shows that the median level of school completed is eleventh grade for women, tenth grade for men. All are deemed literate—which is more than can be said for many graduates of the U.S. public schools—and nearly half the women and a quarter of the men have completed twelve years of education.

Los coyotes

Those that don't come from Mexico hail, instead, from the Caribbean basin. An increasing number of them are fleeing social and political upheaval — usually the direct result of U.S. intervention in the affairs of Latin American nations. They come here by land, by sea, by air—and, more and more, with the kind of professional help that crossing the border undetected seems to require. This is where *los coyotes*—the increasingly sophisticated black market smuggling operators—come in.

In 1978, the going rate for a first-class smuggling job was $300. This included transportation into the interior, and a solemn vow that the black marketeer would keep trying until the client got safely over the border. The Border Patrol has limited resources, and cannot watch every mile every minute.

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The border is almost completely unguarded for approximately one hour three times daily, when the Border Patrol shifts change. It is the smugglers' job to know the shift schedule, and it is in fact common knowledge in certain circles. The *coyotes*—like all black market operators of this type—are not known for their honesty or reliability; in some cases, they are paid by the authorities to dump their clients into the waiting arms of the INS. Often, a smuggler who wants to put a rival out of business will simply turn his competitor in to the Mexican police. And, as we have seen, they don't call Tijuana "the Vietnam of the Southwest" for nothing; violence, whether initiated by the *coyotes* or by the INS, or both, is definitely on the upswing along the southern border.

Tijuana is, nevertheless, the major point of entry for the immigrants. The three principal routes are: (1) Across the flood-plain of the Tijuana River, west of Interstate Highway 5. Illegals cross the road toward the beaches, then slip through the infamous "fence" which is riddled with holes. From this point, it's a twenty minute walk to the nearest town; only the Tijuana River, which can usually be waded, presents any further obstacle.

(2) Through the canyons, west of Interstate 5, which are a veritable maze. In spite of electronic sensors, this is the route most traveled, because it provides the most cover. It is also the most dangerous.

(3) The underground route. The huge water drain pipes, which one can enter in Mexico and exit in the U.S., are another sort of maze — and these dark corridors are also watched, closely, via electronic sensor devices. There are only a few possible exits, and these are patrolled by INS agents. Yet some, in their desperation, choose even this way out.

Betting on a new world

What kind of spirit moves people to risk everything—even their lives—for a chance at a new life? What is it that drives them to defy the State, and luck itself, to bet on a new world? Even against the greatest odds, and against all advice, they come to the United States and live in the shadow of the marketplace, in the nooks and crannies of our society. Why? Ask them:

"In my neighborhood," says one immigrant, "people would tell fairy tales about the United States. I remember one time, a woman who was living in the U.S. returned to El Salvador and told everyone that things were so good there you could buy clothes in the afternoon, wear them once—and if you didn't like them you could throw them away." (From an interview in the NACLA *Report:* Nov.-Dec. 1979, p. 11)

Although the neo-conservative critics of modern society—those whose Congressional acolytes are responsible for tightening immigration restrictions — never stop kvetching about the decline of the so-called "work ethic" and the demise of *bourgeois* values, perhaps even they would change their tune if they could listen to Elena, and see the rebirth and regeneration of the old values in their newest adherents: "I hear about people in this country who have a hard time finding a job. Well, I never had any trouble at all," sniffs Elena, who got her first U.S. job in the garment industry in Brooklyn. "If you look, and you're really willing to work, you find what you need." (NACLA *Report;* p. 15)

Los mojados, the hidden people, those who live on the edge of things: hunted and maligned, but unbowed and unstoppable, these are a proud people.

La Migra

But their old enemy, *La Migra* (the INS), is also proud; although some might call it arrogance. Indeed, some say—and justly—that the INS is engaged in nothing less than a terror campaign directed at *all* Americans, legal and illegal.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service was officially born on March 3, 1891. But it did not really come into its own, under its present name, until June 14, 1940, and it has been attempting to convince Congress and the American people that it needs more and more money to enforce stricter and stricter immigration laws ever since.

By the time Jimmy Carter replaced General Chapman with Leonel Castillo in 1977, the annual INS budget increase averaged 16.4 percent. Castillo, being a Mexican-American, and intelligent enough, was in a completely untenable position from the start. Faced with senior INS officials who emphasized "enforcement" over "service," and Chicano activists who took the opposite tack, Castillo was shot down in the crossfire, and ended up resigning. His appointment, which was intended as a sop to the Chicano community, has instead backfired in Carter's face and further lessened the president's already waning credibility with the fastest growing constituency in the West. And as more pressure is brought to bear on the president and Congress by the labor/racist/environmentalist coalition to "do something" about the "illegal alien problem," election-year hysteria—and a touch of war fever—may very well see the INS bureaucracy bloated even beyond its present grotesque level. The escalation of the border war, the rapid Vietnamization of the American Southwest, is unmistakably on the agenda—and the Border Patrol is already straining at the leash.

The Border Patrol was established on May 28, 1924, by the passage in Congress of the Department of Labor Appropriations Act, which dispensed "at least one million dollars ... for additional land-border patrol." Since then, the force has grown to nearly two thousand authorized positions out of a total of approximately 11,000 INS employees, with more positions in the works. The patrol enjoys sweeping powers of search, seizure, investigation, and arrest, and a Congressional Act of February 27, 1925, gave the Patrol the further power to board any ship or vehicle in search of illegals. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 authorized the Patrol and other INS agents to "interrogate any alien or person believed to be an alien" and "to arrest any alien or person believed to be an alien." Although these powers are not supposed to extend to residential areas, the INS has recently made surprise "street sweeps" in East Los Angeles. People have been routed out of their homes, both legals and illegals, and rounded up like cattle. The INS doesn't require a warrant. An ACLU lawyer who was subjected to a humiliating search at the Mexican-American border described the INS's ransacking of his camper for the *New York Times:* "They went through the drawers and the closets and pulled out all the clothes," Mr. Harrington recalled. "I asked one of them if he had a warrant or any probable cause to search us, and he said, 'We can search you if we want. If you don't like it, take us to court.'" (7/22/79)

The machinery of bigotry

The use of INS checkpoints in the interior—there are 10 permanent motor vehicle checkpoints in California, and 15 in Texas—are currently among the most controversial of the

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methods the agency uses to apprehend illegals, along with its searches of factories and private dwellings. Not only are factories and homes raided with relentless regularity, but U.S. citizens who also happen to be Chicanos are singled out and harassed—and, of course, are forced to pay the bill for it in their taxes.

Given the scope of its powers, only one thing keeps the INS from instituting police state methods to close the borders once and for all—lack of money. Yet the incompetence of the INS, combined with its lack of resources, produces a certain kind of highly effective terror. As the NACLA *Report* on immigration says: "... in New York City the INS is eminently effective in controlling illegal immigrants once they settle in. And to the undocumented, it is the very randomness of the INS surveillance that makes it so awesome. INS records are far too chaotic to permit agents to pursue the thousands of individuals with overstayed tourist visas on file, much less those immigrants running the southern border...." (p. 29) INS raids are thus more and more dependent on information gleaned from *denuncias* — anonymous telephone tips. And so a reign of terror, without apparent rhyme or reason, holds sway in the Mexican-American community. The policies—the very existence — of the INS are nothing less than institutionalized racism subsidized by its victims.

As Cesar Chavez, Chicano leader, asks Congress for the enactment of draconian measures to deport "strikebreaking" illegals — whose very existence seems to threaten the interests of the labor aristocracy—his "liberal" environmentalist friends push to stop all growth but the growth of government power. As the United Farm Workers turn their Chicano sisters and brothers over to the INS—442 arrests of suspected illegal aliens were made in California's Central Valley in the past year as a direct result of information obtained from the UFW—the Ku Klux Klan patrols the U.S./Mexican border, hooded and armed, "helping" the INS to keep America Anglo. And as government-caused inflation drags us to the brink of another depression, the possibility of an anti-immigrant backlash, quickened by racism and fueled by war hysteria and resurgent militarism, is not an unlikely possibility. As was demonstrated by Jimmy Carter's crackdown on Iranian students—and his subsequent jump in the polls — and as was aptly stated in the Introduction to the NACLA *Report:* "The idea of the 'illegal alien' [is] more of a political manipulation than a reflection of economic and social reality." (p. 6)

The INS and the laws it is charged with enforcing cannot be reformed or otherwise fixed. Only the abolition of the INS and the opening of the borders—a policy of free passage and free trade on an international scale — will solve this government-created problem. There is no "illegal alien invasion." What is being invaded is the right of every human being to travel freely, to work, and to live in peace. The fight for the rights of these Latin-Americans looms now as the biggest, most tumultuous civil rights battle of the '80s. Now that Americans from many different communities are uniting in their opposition to more government controls, the rising militance of the Chicano population is timed exactly right. For only the unleashing of some such elemental force can break the chains that bind us all. ❑

Justin Raimondo is the founder of the Libertarian Party Radical Caucus and editor of *Libertarian Vanguard*. He is the author of *In Praise of Outlaws: Rebuilding Gay Liberation* (a pamphlet published by Students for a Libertarian Society) as well as numerous articles in *Liberty*. He is the Libertarian candidate for state assembly in California's 16th district.

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HOWARD JARVIS FIGHTS ROUND II

MARSHALL E. SCHWARTZ

Howard Jarvis has thrown California politics into an uproar again this year—and this time the professional politicians are running scared. While Jarvis's 1978 co-sponsor of Proposition 13 (which cut property taxes in the state by nearly $7 billion), Paul Gann, is busy mounting his campaign for the Republican senatorial nomination, the 77-year-old Los Angeles tax activist is trying to have California's personal income tax rates slashed by half. And, at this writing, it looks as if he'll have nearly as easy a victory on June 3 as he did two years ago.

But while opponents of Proposition 9 (dubbed Jarvis II by many, and Jaws II by its detractors) are again sounding tocsins of impending doom, predicting major cuts in funds for libraries, parks, education, and supplemental welfare payments to the elderly, their voices aren't as strident as they were in 1978. They've lost too much of their credibility because of their quickly disproven forecasts of the disaster that would follow passage of Proposition 13, and they're unwilling to risk what little public confidence they still have. As Jarvis himself said in mid-March, when he debated State Senate President James Mills (D-San Diego), "Remember the anti-13 campaign? The sales tax would go to 12 percent, unemployment would rise, be tremendous—remember that? The people of California saw through that myth and will see through [this one]."

Even sometimes-Governor Jerry Brown, a fanatic opponent of Prop. 13 until the day after it passed, was conciliatory, almost apologetic, in announcing his disapproval of Jarvis II in a statewide radio and television broadcast on March 20.

Trying to avoid sensitive toes, Brown ticked off four argu-

M. DOWDALL

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ments in favor of Proposition 9 before observing that he saw "two defects" in the measure. Walking to a chart, the nation's best known part-time absentee chief executive noted that "it gives 55 percent of the money that will be taken back from government to the richest 10 percent of the people. Secondly, it assumes that the economy will grow as it has for the past several years. For myself, as I analyze all these factors, I believe that it is unfair to give so much money to so few, and that's precisely what Prop. 9 does." (Brown's comments about the economy referred not only to Prop. 9's promise of increased sales tax revenue from increased spending, but also to the likely generation of new jobs in the state. While Prop. 13 led to the loss of some 100,000 government jobs—principally through attrition and leaving open slots unfilled—it helped create 350,000 to 500,000 new jobs in the private sector. Jarvis estimates that Prop. 9 would eliminate 200,000 government positions while leading to at least 220,000 additional private sector positions.)

Yet Brown concluded his talk by declaring, "I will faithfully carry out the mandate of Prop. 9 if that is your will. I will do it in the most humane way I know how. But as to how I personally feel, I'm going to vote 'no' on Prop. 9." A far cry from his ringing indictments and catastrophic predictions when Prop. 13 was on the ballot two years before.

Jarvis, who has become the national personification of the word "curmudgeon" as well as the official folk hero of the anti-tax movement, reacted in typical fashion, calling the governor's address "a heap of garbage" and labeling Brown "a lousy economist." He predicted Brown would be "reborn again" after Prop. 9 passes—a February poll showed it leading 54-34 percent—just as he was after Prop. 13's victory.

It's hard not to expect a repeat of 1978. The anti-Jarvis rhetoric is familiar, and so is the almost laughable numbers game being played by state officials. Two years ago, during the Prop. 13 campaign, Governor Brown and a multitude of other state officials all asserted that California would have only (!) a $1.5 billion surplus at the end of that fiscal year. Jarvis forecast a $6.5 billion bulge—and he hit the target on the nose. This year the figures have diverted similarly, though not as drastically. Last November, Bill Hamm, who holds the ostensibly nonpartisan position of state legislative analyst, indicated that the state surplus at the end of June would be a mere $1.1 billion—hardly enough to withstand the rigors of an income tax cut of somewhere between $3.4 billion and $4.9 billion and still help local governments overcome the revenue losses already imposed by Prop. 13 (to the tune of more than $4 billion each year).

But that figure didn't last long, as Brown administration bigwigs began hedging their bets. When Governor Moonbeam's proposed budget for fiscal 1981 was released in January, his finance director, Mary Ann Graves, announced that the surplus would reach $1.8 billion. By late February, rumors had begun circulating in Sacramento that her department was about to up the figure to $2.1 billion. Meanwhile, state Treasurer Jess Unruh — the notorious former Democratic political boss — was suggesting the surplus might hit $2.6 billion. And only two weeks later, the leading Prop. 9 opponent among the state's elected officials, Senate President James Mills (who is *not* up for reelection this year) insisted the surplus would be *only* $2.6 billion, not the $3.1 billion his debating partner—Jarvis—predicted. "Economic forecasting is in a shambles right now," lamented Legislative Analyst Hamm to *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter Jerry Roberts in late February. "Nothing works, but the voters expect that we're just not telling the truth." An economist named Murray Rothbard could have told him that years ago.

Equally confusing are the estimates of just how much Jarvis II will return to California taxpayers' pockets. While slashing income tax rates by exactly one-half, Prop. 9 would cut the income tax *revenue* of the state by 54 percent, because it would leave unchanged some deductions — for renters and homeowners, for example—that are fixed dollar amounts subtracted from the total tax. Business partnerships — primarily medical, legal, and the like, but also including some apartment owners and similar groups and one-person businesses — would also benefit from Jarvis II, because they are taxed on the same schedule as individuals. Prop. 9 also contains two provisions that were enacted by the legislature since Jarvis announced the start last July of his petition drive, which produced a total of 800,000 signatures from every county in the state.

Consequences—known and unknown

One of these new provisions puts an end to California's business inventory tax, an annual tribute to the state exacted from all businesses based on an assessment of their inventory. The second "indexes" the various income tax brackets according to the rate of inflation, so that the top and bottom income figures for a given tax bracket rise along with prices. (Last year, the maximum tax rate, 11 percent (which Jarvis II would cut to 5.5 percent) applied to single individuals with $16,310 in taxable income.) Prop. 9 would make both of these measures permanent—not just subject to the whim of the legislature—by ensconcing them in the state's constitution.

When Bill Hamm issued his initial estimates of Jarvis II's impact in mid-January, he presented a figure of $4.9 billion in revenue lost to the state for the first year. Later, that figure was revised downward to $3.4 billion. And a legislative measure proposed by State Senate Republican Leader William Campbell (and endorsed by Jarvis) to make Jarvis II effective the day after it passes, rather than (retroactively) on January 1, would, if approved, cut more than a billion dollars more off that figure. As a result, Governor Brown's financial aides have revised their original guess that Prop. 9 would reduce state revenues by 20 to 25 percent down to about 10 percent. Moreover, Jarvis has pointed out that increased state tax revenues from the partial decontrol of oil that will take effect later this year will mean additional millions for the state.

And these are only a few of the numbers being bandied about by both sides in the Prop. 9 debate. Two of the others are of particular interest. First, more than one-fifth of the taxes that Californians won't have to pay after Jarvis II passes will simply be grabbed up by Uncle Sam, since there'll be less state income tax to deduct on federal returns. Second, there's Jarvis's rebuttal to the governor's charge that Prop. 9 is a "gift for the rich." Among people filing returns as individuals, those with incomes of $10,000 or less would have their income tax cut an average of 63.1 percent, while individuals with $50,000 or more taxable income would save only 46 percent. For couples, those with less than $10,000 in joint income would have their taxes reduced 73.8 percent; those making $50,000 or more, 49.4 percent. With Prop. 9 in effect, low-income taxpayers would contribute an even smaller percentage of all income taxes than they currently do.

The line-up of Jarvis supporters and antagonists this year is familiar. One of the earliest Prop. 9 proponents was Lieutenant Governor Mike Curb—a Republican who made his fortune as the boy genius of the record industry. Last

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August, while the petition drive was still on, Curb announced, "I am for cutting government. If the leaders of the government won't do it themselves, the people will have to do it." Additional strong support has come from Republicans in the legislature. San Diego Mayor Pete Wilson, a moderate Republican, said earlier this year that although Jarvis II "will probably have to mean a reduction of grants" to welfare recipients, he tended to favor the measure because it was necessary to "impose discipline on legislative bodies which seem incapable of imposing it on themselves."

Those few Democrats who have spoken against Prop. 9 are almost all bureaucrats or not up for re-election this fall. At one well-staged news conference in San Francisco, the mayor, the state AFL-CIO head, and a string of education, city hall, and labor leaders predicted enormous cuts in school programs, a rise in unemployment, and major disruptions of city services if Jarvis II receives the voters' OK. Citizens for California, an umbrella anti-Prop. 9 group, has listed among its members such bureaucratic stalwarts as the State Board of Education, the University of California, the California State Employees Association, the League of California Cities, the California Fire Chiefs Association, the California Federation of Teachers, the California State PTA, and the National Association of Social Workers. And U.C. President David Saxon has warned that tuition will surely have to be imposed if Jarvis II passes—the same prediction we heard in 1978.

But some people and organizations have come down on unexpected sides of the question. Jarvis's former associate, Paul Gann, had not come out in support of the proposition by late March. When he announced his entry into the U.S. Senate race on February 22, he would say only that he was "leaning toward" giving it his support. Even his staunchly liberal incumbent opponent, Alan Cranston, wouldn't take a stand when he announced his candidacy for reelection a week earlier.

The most unexpected opponent of Jarvis II is a man who appeared in television commercials supporting Prop. 13—Milton Friedman. He says he expects it to pass, but predicts that Californians will pay higher prices as a result. His avowed reason for this claim is that the legislature will respond to Prop. 9 by enacting higher business taxes, and the cost of paying them will simply be passed on to the consumer. Although, like Governor Brown, Friedman will vote against the measure, the Nobel Prize winner does not feel with the Governor that passage of Jarvis II would be a "disaster. There is something good coming out of cutting taxes at any time, at any place, for any reason," he told the *Sacramento Bee*. He declares moreover that "if you just went down to a state government office and fired every third person at random, there isn't any doubt in my mind that the total productivity of those bureaus would go up, not down." Yet, Friedman adds, he basically opposes writing tax changes into constitutions. "If you start using the constitution to legislate the specific form of taxes on one hand or the specific form of spending on the other," he observes, "you get yourself in an inefficient structure of governmental organization"—thereby revealing his rash presumption that there exists some other kind of governmental organization.

Equally unexpected is the support Jarvis has received from two corners of the governmental labyrinth. Just two days before Governor Brown came out in lukewarm opposition to Prop. 9, the city council of Walnut Creek — a growing, affluent, suburban city some 30 miles east of San Francisco — *voted to support it.* Immediately, it was attacked for its stand by county school officials. But the council members were firm. "Our feeling was that we had gone through a budget-cutting exercise after Prop. 13, and it was a positive experience," attorney and councilman William Armstrong told the *San Francisco Examiner.* "There were some things we couldn't have done without being pushed. Cutting back a little here, a little there, we were able to do the same things with fewer employees. We learned something."

Dr. Dale Farabee, the state's mental health director, caused a furor in March when he declared that Prop. 9 would probably have a desirable effect in his bailiwick: "It may very well result in something happening in one year that we've been trying to do for 20 years"—namely opening the doors of the remaining state mental institutions and returning the incarcerated patients to their communities. He likened the effect to a "tornado that blows down that house you've been trying to tear down." Since 1957, the number of "mentally ill" patients in state hospitals has fallen from 37,000 to 5,000. In some rather candid remarks, Farabee pointed out that many of the patients involved are in the state institutions simply because their behavior embarrasses others. "They're socially unacceptable because they cause problems in the neighborhood. From a civil rights standpoint, that's no reason to put them in an institution," he said. "But pragmatically, it's a fact." A mental health department spokeswoman, Bertha Gaffney-Gorman, added that "our expectations are going to have to be different. We can't be shocked if we see someone undressing in the middle of the street. We just don't have the money anymore to get these people off the street." Needless to say, local mental health officials throughout the state were quick to attack Dr. Farabee. One official declared that such a move would "produce a panic situation here," while another called Farabee's remarks "nonsense" and predicted such dire consequences as the "mentally ill" being jailed for disorderly conduct.

Passing the buck

Other bureaucrats have more direct means at their disposal with which to fight Jarvis II. In December, Governor Brown asked all state department heads to submit *two* budgets for fiscal 1981: a regular budget, plus a scaled-down version to accommodate $3.5 billion less state income. In early March, State school board president Michael Kirst defiantly refused to comply with the governor's request for a 30 percent smaller budget. "We've told the Department of Finance, 'You make the cuts,'" he declared. Making these cuts himself, he said, would mean that highly competitive special interests in education would "fight each other for scraps, turning the venom inward. I want it turned outward." The Governor's request, he said, "just plays into Jarvis's hands. Jarvis is out there just itching to say that we're crying wolf again."

And that's exactly what Howard Jarvis has been doing: spreading the word (thanks to $2 million he raised for the petition drive—all but $12,500 of it in contributions of $500 or less—and the up to $1.5 million more he's raised for the campaign). The official kick-off for the battle was on Tax Day—April 15—with a half-hour television show aired, at significant cost, in almost every California media market. And although his opponents, headed by Los Angeles attorney Mickey Kantor, were trying to raise an equally substantial war chest, Jarvis II, thankfully, seems to be a winner.❑

LR **contributing editor Marshall Schwartz is the Libertarian Party candidate in California's 17th Assembly District, and the only one of the four candidates in the race to support Proposition 9.**

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BOOKS AND ARTS

The revolution that will be

BILL BIRMINGHAM

The Question of Palestine, *by Edward W. Said. Times Books, 265 pp., $12.50.*

IT IS SAID THAT MAX Nordau, one of the early pioneers of Zionism, once burst into Theodor Herzl's room crying: "There are Arabs in Palestine! I didn't know that—but then we are creating an injustice." Nordau had good reason to be surprised. Herzl's book, *The Jewish State,* which first set forth the Zionist program, made no mention of any Arabs, and the Zionists rallied around Israel Zangwill's slogan, "A land without people, for a people without a land." As late as 1969 Golda Meir could straightfacedly assert: "It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."

In private, of course, the Zionist leadership knew perfectly well that the Palestinians did exist. In his *Diaries,* Herzl noted that "we shall have to spirit the penniless population [of Palestine] across the border . . . Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly." In 1940 the man in charge of that expropriation, Joseph Weitz, director of the Jewish National Fund, wrote in *his* diary: "It must be clear that there is no room for both peoples in this country . . . there is no way besides transferring the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries, to transfer them all; we must not leave a single village, a single tribe." Three days after Israel declared independence, Weitz wrote that this principle would be applied to the Palestinian refugees; the Foreign Ministry agreed, "We must act in such a way as to transform the exodus of the Arabs into an established fact . . . so that they return no more."

In *The Question of Palestine,* Dr. Edward Said, Professor of English at Columbia University and a member of the Palestinian National Council, the governing body of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, uses evidence such as this to show that "the Zionists considered the Arab problem as something either to be avoided completely, or denied (and hence attacked) completely." They were aided by what Said calls "the moral epistemology of imperialism." Since Palestine was part of the non-European world, for example, Herzl saw nothing wrong with dismissing Palestine as "a plague-ridden, blighted corner of the Orient" to which the Jewish colonists, as "representatives of Western civilization," would bring "cleanliness, order and the well-distilled customs of the Occident." Arthur James Balfour, whose Declaration committed the British Empire to the Zionist cause, admitted that "in Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country.... [Zionism is] of far profounder import than the desire and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land. In my opinion that is right." Balfour may have been influenced by the letters from Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann (later president of Israel) instructing him on "the treacherous nature of the Arab" (Said uncovered quite a few Zionists who said such things — in private), but his views were perfectly in keeping with the assumptions of the imperialist *mission civilatrice.* For that matter, Said argues, "Zionism *never* spoke of itself unambiguously as a Jewish liberation movement, but rather as a Jewish movement for colonial settlement in the Orient."

Zionism also drew strength from "a remarkable tradition in the West of enmity toward Islam in particular and the Orient in general," a tradition Dr. Said documented in a previous book: *Orientalism* (New York; Pantheon Books, 1978). In that tradition the Orient and its inhabitants are regarded as so *outré* that they cannot possibly be understood by the European without the assistance of an expert "Orientalist." The Zionist thus assumed the responsibility "for expressing what the Arabs were really like and about;" a typical example was the Weizmann-Balfour letters mentioned above. Zionism, as Said writes, saw Palestine "as essentially empty of inhabitants not because there were no inhabitants .... but because their status as sovereign and human inhabitants was systematically denied."

The slogan "A land without a people" was part of that denial, of course, as was the claim that the Jewish settlers were "making the desert bloom." (As to that, see Alan George, "Making the Desert Bloom: A Myth Examined," *Journal of Palestine Studies,* Winter 1979.) Just recently I noticed an ad for Sabra Liqueur, an Israeli product whose basic ingredient is the Jaffa orange — "Our Mediterranean miracle," as the copywriters describe it. "From out of the dry, sun-scorched sands," they say, "where it is *impossible* for anything to grow, something *incredibly* did." One would never guess that there were Arabs in Palestine who not only "incredibly" made this "impossible" fruit grow, but also exported it to

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Europe for centuries before the Zionists came.

"The Zionists," says Professor Said, "convinced themselves that these natives did not exist, then made it possible for them to exist only in the most rarefied forms." Moshe Dayan gives a glimpse of one way this was done:

> We came to this country which was already populated by Arabs and we are establishing a Hebrew, that is a Jewish state there. In considerable areas of the country [the total area was about 6 percent — ES] we bought the lands from the Arabs [or more properly, from their feudal overlords — BB]. Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. You do not even know the names of these Arab villages, and I do not blame you, *because these geography books no longer exist;* not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either. Nahalal [Dayan's own village] arose in the place of Mahalul, Gevat — in the place of Jibta, [Kibbutz] Sarid — in the place of Haneifs and Kefar Yehosua—in the place of Tell Shaman. *There is not one place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population.* [Emphasis added.]

Professor Israel Shahak, head of the Israeli League of Human and Civil Rights, has concluded that almost 400 villages were destroyed in this fashion: "destroyed *completely,* with their houses, garden-walls, and even cemeteries and tombstones, so that literally a stone does not remain standing, and vistors are passing and being told that 'it was all desert.'" This was called "redeeming the land."

Another pillar of Zionism was the "conquest of labor," also known as "Jewish socialism." This was a systematic boycott of the Arab economy, and especially of Arab laborers. There is nothing wrong with voluntary boycotts, but there was nothing voluntary about the conquest of labor. "We stood guard at orchards to prevent Arab workers from getting jobs there," confesses David Hacohen, former head of the Jewish trade union *Histadrut.* His minions would also "pour kerosene on Arab tomatoes," and even "attack Jewish housewives in the markets and smash the Arab eggs they bought." No wonder the "ignorant" Arabs opposed the Jewish state which the United Nations decreed in 1947.

The "rarefication" of the Palestinians increased dramatically when Israel was founded. The U.N. gave the Zionists, who had 30 percent of the population of Palestine and owned less than 7 percent of the land, 55 percent of the country. This gerrymander gave the prospective Jewish state almost as many Arabs as Jews (more, if one counted the nomadic Bedouins). It was obviously to Israel's advantage to "transfer" these Arabs across her borders, and that's what happened to the Palestinian refugees.

Irish journalist Erskine Childers was the first to demolish the Israeli claim that the refugees left at the incitement of radio broadcasts from the Arab countries. (See "The Other Exodus," *The Spectator,* May 12, 1961.) No such broadcasts were made. But Israeli forces did use sound trucks to warn the Arabs, "Unless you leave your homes, the fate of Deir Yassin will be your fate." Deir Yassin was a peaceful Arab village, well outside the borders of the proposed Jewish state, where six weeks before Israel declared independence the forces of Menachem Begin's *Irgun* massacred some 250 men, women, and children. (The murderers received no punishment, other than a tongue-lashing from their regular-army liaison officer, and they receive Israeli government pensions to this day.) When they heard the news, Begin boasted, "The Arabs began to flee in terror, shouting 'Deir Yassin!'" The Israelis helped the terror along: *Irgun* radio warned urban Arabs to expect plague outbreaks "in April and May" of 1948, the time period of the big Israeli offensive ('Plan Daleth') of which Deir Yassin was a part. At the same time, Israeli commander Yigal Allon started a rumor campaign in Galilee to the effect that Jewish forces were coming to burn the Arab villages: "The flight," he said, "numbered myriads." The 60,000 residents of Lydda and Ramleh departed after Moshe Dayan's columns shot up and looted those towns. (According to ex-prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, this was done at the direct order of David Ben Gur-

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ion, Israel's first prime minister.) Out of about 950,000 Arabs who had lived in what became the new, enlarged Israel, some 780,000 were refugees, giving the new state a solid Jewish majority and all their abandoned property, to which the Israeli government promptly helped itself. It was, as President Chaim Weizmann put it, "a miraculous simplification of our tasks."

New settlements were built on confiscated refugee lands much as before; Lod was built in the place of Lydda, Kfar Sha'ul in the place of Deir Yassin. On sites where the terrain was unsuitable for Jewish settlement the villages were razed and trees planted. Not only refugee lands were confiscated; the 1950 Law for the Acquistion of Absentee Property expropriated the holdings of anyone who had left his usual residence for any place not controlled by the Israeli forces. According to David Hirst's *The Gun and the Olive Branch* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), some of the victims had only crossed the street. In years to come, even those who stayed put often lost their lands on some pretext or another. For example, the Minister of Defense might bar Arab farmers from their land by declaring it a "security area"—whereupon the Minister of Agriculture would seize it because it wasn't being cultivated and give it to someone who would cultivate it. Funny how these things work out: the someone was almost always a nearby Jewish colony. Similar methods are being used on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip today.

"After 1948," notes Said, "every Palestinian disappeared nationally and legally." Those who fled became "refugees," those who stayed became "non-Jews." As Dr. Shahak observes:

GLOBE PHOTOS

"It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine and we came and threw them out and we took their country away from them. They did not exist."—Golda Meir, 1969

> There are no Israeli babies born in the Zionist state. According to the statistical records compiled by the Government, there are only Jewish babies and non-Jewish babies. Similarly, the Israeli Yearbook shows that there is no Israeli corn, tomatoes, or citrus fruit—there is only Jewish corn, tomatoes and citrus fruit and non-Jewish corn, tomatoes and citrus fruit. If, as the Government claims, all of the citizens of Israel are equal, why segregate the babies—or, for that matter, the corn, tomatoes and citrus fruit?

Segregation usually implies discrimination, and Israel's "non-Jews" face discrimination in education, in politics, in virtually every field, at the hands of the "Arab experts" who, according to Uri Avneri, a dissident member of the Israeli parliament, form "a secret government, unsanctioned by law," within the Israeli bureaucracy. Such discrimination and oppression is documented in, among other sources, Sabri Jiryis's *The Arabs in Israel* (Second edition New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976). The Palestinian Jiryis lived in Israel until he attempted to publish his book; the Israeli government promptly proved the book's thesis by suppressing it and deporting its author.

Unsuppressed books, Said reports, include "Children's literature [which] is made up of valiant Jews who always end up by killing low, treacherous Arabs, with names like Mastoul (crazy), Bandura (tomato), or Bukra (tomorrow). As a writer for [the Israeli newspaper] *Ha'aretz* said (September 20, 1974), 'Children's books deal with our topic: the Arab who murders Jews out of pleasure, and the pure Jewish boy who defeats "the coward swine"'!" Perhaps it should not be too surprising then that when Israeli chief of staff General Mordecai Gur, who commanded the March 1978 invasion of Lebanon which killed nearly 2000 Arab civilians, was asked whether his forces made the proper distinction "between civilians and non-civilians" he replied: "What distinction?" (*Al-Hamishmar*, May 10, 1978.) During the 1973 war the army issued a booklet written by one Abraham Avidan, rabbi to the army central command, that said: "When our forces encounter civilians during the war or in the course of a pursuit or a raid, the encountered civilians may, and by Halachic standards even must be killed, whenever it cannot be ascertained that they are incapable of hitting us back. *Under no circumstances should an Arab be trusted, even if he gives the impression of being civilized.* [Emphasis added.]"

Contrary to Golda Meir, the Palestinian people did exist. Said produces references to *Filastin Arabiyah*—Arab Palestine—dating back to the eighth century. Though one foreign overlord after another denied them political independence the Palestinians were still regarded, by themselves and by others, as part of a discrete political and cultural entity in the Arab world. They shared in the "Arab Awakening" that began at the end of the nineteenth century and they fought in the Arab revolt against the Ottoman Empire during World War I, in exchange for British promises of independence (which were, needless to say, not kept). Palestinian writers, intellectuals and political groups promoted Palestinian nationalism and opposition to British rule and Zionist colonialism.

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Palestinian nationalism was not sufficient to cope with the strains imposed on it by Zionism, the British mandate and the beginning of modernization. That it still lives at all is partly a tribute to what Said calls "the sheer persistence of the Palestinians; they would not go away, not even after they had been dispersed, driven out, conquered," and also a tribute to their unique response to the forces of dispossession — the Palestine Liberation Organization. "One of the things that Western analysts of the movement have regularly misunderstood," argues Said, "is that the PLO did not get its popularity, or its supporters, or even the volunteers who joined up, because it was a made-up device to terrorize the world. Rather, what the organization represented *was* the workings of a general Palestinian consensus sensitive to Palestinian history and aspirations."

Through a network of Palestinian student organizations, trade unions, professional societies, women's groups, welfare and relief societies, and so on in an evergrowing list, "the PLO took over schooling, arming, protecting, feeding, and generally providing for Palestinians, wherever it could." The members of these organizations elect representatives to the Palestinian National Council, which serves as a Palestinian parliament-in-exile. (These representatives elect other Palestinian notables to join them. Evidently this is how Said became a member.) The National Council makes policy for the PLO as a whole and elects an Executive Committee (which in turn elects a chairman, currently Yasir Arafat) to carry it out. The PLO diplomatic arm and such centers as the Institute for Palestine Studies in Beirut serve "to interpret the Palestinian reality ... which had been obscured from the world for almost a century, to the world and, more importantly, to Palestinians themselves." (Said sees this as a major factor in rallying the Third World behind the Palestinian cause.) In short, Said concludes, "The PLO [has] made being a Palestinian not only a possible thing . . . but a meaningful thing for every Palestinian, no matter where his place of residence, no matter what his final ideological commitment."

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Yasir Arafat, leader of the PLO, during a 1978 news conference in Havana, where he criticized President Carter for his silence during Israel's attack on civilians in Southern Lebanon.

Every Palestinian group is part of the PLO. But if this universality is part of the PLO's strength, it also lays the organization open to the charge that it is a terrorist group. Said argues that "at least since the early seventies, the PLO has avoided and condemned terror." (According to libertarian Imad Dean Ahmad, a Palestinian himself, such sources as M.C. Hudson's *Arab Politics: The Search for Legitimacy* seem to support that claim.) Moreover, Palestinian terrorism is largely a response to Israeli state terrorism (cf: General Gur) and other Israeli crimes, alongside which "Palestinian 'terror' [is] a very pale and incompetent thing." (From 1970 through 1977, "according to Israeli Embassy figures, Palestinians had killed 258 Jews," *Commonweal* magazine found. "During the same time, Israel had killed over 2000 Arabs in retaliation.") "But," Said writes, "I would not wish it otherwise."

For Said, "the true novelty and the revolutionary force of the movement" is the idea of a secular, democratic state in Palestine, committed to the equality of Jew and Arab, which the PLO embraced after the 1967 war. Previously, the Palestinians had clung to the idea that "the Zionist invasion" could somehow be undone, "that we can all go back to 1948, to our property, to an Arab country, presumably ruled by traditional Arab despots"—a vision Said rightly finds "historically and morally intolerable." In 1969, the PNC "bit the bullet" and passed a resolution calling for a democratic state in Palestine that included all its inhabitants. What this means is that the Palestinians have done what the Israelis have never done —indeed, what they *cannot* do without renouncing the very cornerstone of Zionism —they have accepted "that their Other, the Israeli-Jewish people, is a concrete political reality with which they must live in the future." Since 1974, the PLO has refined its program to accept a Palestinian "mini-state" on the West Bank and Gaza as a first step to the larger goal and especially to establish the precedent of the Palestinian right to self-determination. The PLO opposes the sham "autonomy" of the Camp David accords because it would not establish that precedent. In fact, the Hebrew text of the Camp David treaty bars even the *word* "Palestinian," substituting the phrase "the Arabs of the Land of Israel." Menachem Begin apparently still believes what he told an audience of *kibbutzniks* in 1969 (as recorded in Noam Chomsky's *Peace in the Middle East?*): "When you recognize the concept of 'Palestine', you demolish your right to live in Ein Hahoresh. If this is Palestine and not the Land of Israel ... then what are you doing here? You came to another people's homeland, as they claim, you expelled them and you have taken their land...."

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In Dr. Said's opinion, what he has elsewhere described as "the libertarian power" of the Palestinian idea holds great promise for the other Arab countries as well. He was impressed, for example, by what he saw at the 1977 session of the PNC: "For the first time in recent memory there was a broadly representative national body in the Arab world actually debating important matters in a totally democratic way. The PLO came in for heavy criticism; its executive committee, Yasir Arafat, and the rest were subjected to minute, critical scrutiny. There is no Arab country in which such thing can go on." The Palestine issue has served to rally opposition to the regimes in Iran, Egypt and Kuwait, to name only a few. "Palestine," says Said, "has become the acceptable trope for bringing criticism to bear on state authority." No wonder that Dr. Ahmad should find Palestinian activists, even members of Arafat's *Al Fatah,* "receptive to the classical liberal tradition."

Unfortunately there are all too many libertarians, even though they claim to be the keepers of the classical liberal tradition, who seem quite unwilling to support the Palestinian cause, or even to acknowledge its justice. True, it is extremely unpopular, and the truth about it well concealed, but obstacles don't stop libertarians from taking equally unpopular and hard to prove positions on a score of domestic issues. Besides, as Dr. Said points out, most of the facts about Palestine and Zionism are readily available; the problem is to connect them, "and see them not as they are hidden, but as they are ignored or denied."

The problem, I think, is that the thinking of anti-Palestinian libertarians suffers from a common defect that manifests itself in their view of foreign affairs. The people who think the Palestinians "want to drive the Jews into the sea" are generally those who believed — and perhaps still believe — that the U.S. was "defending freedom" in Vietnam or Iran. In all these cases, the facts about the oppressed people in question were and are easy to find, but they were ignored or denied — mainly, in my opinion, because of an unwillingness to believe that these non-Western people could have genuine grievances that libertarians could support. The sometimes reactionary and obtuse letters *LR* has received in response to its articles on Iran and the Middle East seem prime examples of this.

The Question of Palestine is especially valuable to libertarians because it deals not so much with facts about Palestine (though it includes them in abundance) as with attitudes: the kind of attitudes libertarians have to shuck off if they are ever to effectively relate to the people of the Third World. I would like to see American libertarians, for example, demand the U.S. end its support for Israel — not because it is a drain on the Treasury, or because it could embroil us in war, although those are perfectly good reasons, but because it enables Israel to murder and oppress the Palestinian people. I would like to see American libertarians put aside their conservatism, and their xenophobia, and their terror of being somehow contaminated by "leftist" issues and learn to say, with the Egyptian student demonstrators of the early seventies: *We are all Palestinians.*

Bill Birmingham is a staff writer for *The Libertarian Review* whose writings also appear frequently in other libertarian publications.

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

A gathering of the bitter, bored and desperate: Palestinians in front of the stark boxes of the Bekaa refugee camp, ten miles north of Amman, Jordan.

Slavery made simple

JEFF RIGGENBACH

Marxism: For and Against, *by Robert L. Heilbroner. W.W. Norton & Company, 186 pp., $9.95.*

TO READ ROBERT L. Heilbroner's new book is, inescapably, to find oneself wondering why it was written. It breaks no new ground, makes no new points, poses no new questions. It spends the first four of its mere five chapters rehearsing the familiar sophistries of Karl Marx — his method of historical analysis, which he adapted from Hegel and christened Dialectical Materialism, his "Labor Theory of Value," his doctrine of the historical inevitability of socialism, and all the dreary rest — then meditates for an equally unoriginal thirty pages or so in a final chapter on the implications of all the decades of oppression and butchery which have characterized the practice of Marxism in such places as Russia and China.

The first four chapters are workmanlike but utterly superfluous. The market is already glutted with popularizations of Marx; there is even a comic book version by the Mexican cartoonist Eduardo del Rio. The final chapter, by contrast, is loose and diffuse and vaguely repetitious, its main ideas all but strangled out of existence by Heilbroner's sudden retreat into circuitous euphemism and tortuous double talk. These main ideas are worth ferreting out and dwelling upon for a moment, however, if only because of the insight they seem to provide into the real political goals of Marxists. (Including Marxists like Heilbroner, who describe themselves as "for and against" Marxism. His arguments "against" Marx are

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all related to the latter's striking failure to predict accurately the historical development of capitalism. They are more properly described as quibbles than as arguments "against." They are, in fact, scarcely worth mentioning at all.)

Like all Marxists, Heilbroner systematically minimizes the crimes of Stalin and Chairman Mao. The Gulag, he writes, is no more fairly representative of socialism than the Inquisition is fairly representative of Christianity; then too, "If Marxism is to be saddled with responsibility for Soviet or Chinese inhumanity, it must also be given credit for the immense material and cultural improvements [!] that these regimes have brought to their peoples."

But he goes further. "The creation of socialism," he writes, "*requires* the curtailment of the central economic freedom of bourgeois society, namely the right of individuals to own, and therefore to withhold if they wish, the means of production, *including their own labor.* The full preservation of this bourgeois freedom would place the attainment of socialism at the mercy of property owners who could threaten to deny their services to society—*and again I refer to their labor, not just to material resources*–if their terms were not met [emphasis mine]."

The "curtailment" of an individual's "property rights in labor" used to be referred to in civilized countries as chattel slavery. But then, a volume entitled *Slavery: For and Against* would be rather unlikely to find acceptance in the intellectual circles Heilbroner is accustomed to frequent. As Oscar Wilde observed nearly a century ago, "Now-a-days to be intelligible is to be found out."

Jeff Riggenbach is executive editor of *LR*.

Biochemical individuality

EGAN O'CONNOR

Free and Unequal: The Biological Basis of Individual Liberty, by Roger J. Williams. Liberty Press, 363 pp., $3.50 soft, $8.00 hard cover.

THIS BOOK COULD BE of enormous help to libertarians who are actively engaged in explaining the glories and justice of liberty to non-libertarians. I wish every *LR* reader would invest $10.50 in three copies—one for a high school library, one for a junior high school library, and one for a public library. I wish there were a copy in every school in the country. (Some schools may indeed have it; the book was previously published in 1953 and 1964.)

Free and Unequal is easily comprehensible even by sixth and seventh graders, but this is not to say it is boring for adults. In California alone, there are 80,000 newly registered libertarians, and I bet that fully half of them would actually *enjoy* this book, while also getting from it a powerful explanation of why people desire and need liberty, and why liberty (not social planning) is therefore essential to human happiness. The book will be a particularly effective introduction to liberty for left-leaning "do-gooders," because it centers on what they regard as human needs rather than on deregulation or the free market — subjects which such people approach (if at all) only with a mind-crippling bias. I write from experience. I was a typical "liberal" only a few years ago.

As I give away copies in the future, I will probably urge people to try "just Chapter Six," which can stand on its own. That chapter, entitled "Humanly Wanting," will be irresistible to many people because it contains a self-quiz. But that's only the ribbon on the package. The content of Chapter Six is the most devastating yet succinct case I have ever seen against trying to achieve human happiness through government planning.

Chapter Six begins by asking, "Why is life worth living? What do you like most about it or want most from it?" and then proceeds to present a questionnaire for the reader. The questionnaire consists of 48 boxes, each "containing" one type of activity which you might consider to be worth living for — including ownership for the pleasure of ownership; routine activities and duties; riding in or driving cars, planes or boats; sex; thinking; planning; contriving; inventing; religious worship; puzzles of all kinds; odors; babies; beauty; betting; aiding people; loafing; solitude.

The reader is challenged to imagine that he or she can "have" only a few of these pleasures, and to select the four or five activities which most make life worth living for him or her. The process is done in stages, so that there is a record of which potential pleasures are discarded immediately, and which are discarded more and more reluctantly. Then Williams (who is a well-respected biochemist and past president of the American Chemical Society) reports on the results when five men and five women associated with his Clayton Foundation Biochemical Institute did the exercise and revealed their individual patterns of preference.

"We were prepared for some diversity," he writes, "but the diversity of patterns turned out to be extreme—*far beyond* what we had anticipated, especially since many of the members of the group were alike in that they had similar scientific

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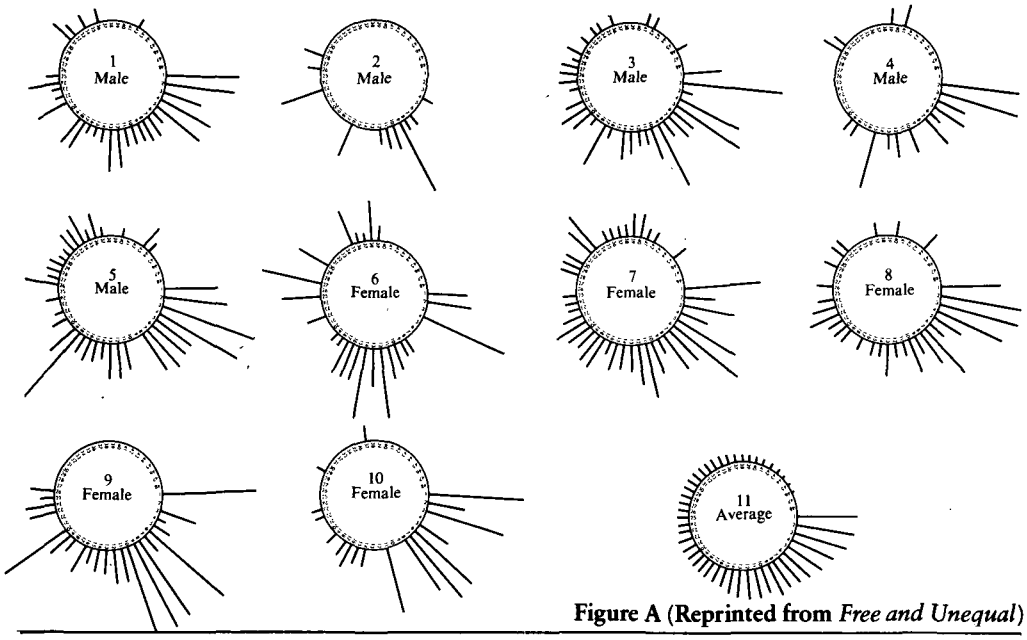

Figure A (Reprinted from *Free and Unequal*)

leanings. . . .

"That the differences exhibited by these individuals do not involve unimportant details needs emphasis. The preference for chess over checkers . . . is not involved; instead, we are concerned with broad, far-reaching human activities, which are closely bound with the significance of life itself."

Williams depicts (Figure A) the individual preference patterns of each of his ten colleagues graphically, with 48 activities on the rim of each circle like the hours on a clock, plus lines of various lengths (the length representing the importance-ranking of a particular activity) extending from the rim like rays from a sun.

It is immediately obvious (a) that there is no resemblance among the ten patterns, and (b) that when the preferences are consolidated into an average pattern, the average wants are an utterly false guide to what makes life worth living for real people. In fact, using the average as a guide is a prescription for universal frustration and misery.

It is hard for me to imagine a more convincing demolition of the myth that big benevolent governments and social planners know what will make "people" happy, and can design and deliver a "good society" if we will just surrender our rights and a large part of our incomes to them.

Both before and after Chapter Six, Williams summarizes (without technical jargon) some of the evidence that:

(1) Babies are born with inherited biological differences (inequalities), and these differences are not trivial.

(2) These genetic differences necessarily persist throughout life regardless of education, training, indoctrination, and social pressure.

(3) These genetic differences are significant (but not exclusive) life-long determinants of what each individual *can* enjoy, how he *can* think, what he *can* achieve, what kind of temperament he is going to have, and what he needs to be healthy and happy; even if all individuals experienced identical environments after birth, each individual would nevertheless have a unique biochemical, athletic, artistic, reasoning, and emotional pattern.

(4) The individual and *only* the individual knows directly (though not necessarily analytically) what his unique pattern is, what is the relative intensity of his various needs and drives, and what is his relative satisfaction or value from various activities.

(5) When individual patterns are averaged to describe your "average, normal person," the result is as nonsensical as it is when you average all the unique patterns for oriental rugs to get your "average, normal rug." In medicine, nutrition, and athletics, *un*changeable individual differences are better appreciated than they are by those involved in political, economic, social, and educational matters.

(6) The historically recurrent agitation for liberty is not just a philosophical preference without any greater justification than the preference for power and authority; the desire for liberty springs from the human species' *need* for liberty, which is based squarely on our inherited biological inequalities and unchangeable differences.

Some readers may consider this book, as I do, "the missing link" which ties together the conclusions of some important thinkers in psychology, management, economics, and politics.

For instance, it is widely observed in counseling — and in the whole "self-actualizing," "getting-in-touch-with-yourself" movement — that freely chosen goals and freely chosen methods of achieving them (not chosen by the counselor or therapist), and the patient's conviction that these values, beliefs, goals, and plans *are* truly his own (private ownership), are fundamental to the patient's progress, health, and happiness. Freely chosen goals and the distinction between what is mine and thine are, of course, fundamental libertarian values. What an irony that the libertarian movement is perceived as callous, heartless, and inhumane by the "do-gooders"!

In the field of management (business, home, neighborhood club, or other), it is also widely observed that working members (including children and even the managers themselves) are extremely hard to motivate whenever they are supposed to work for someone else's goal and/or whenever someone else's method of achieving the goal is imposed on them. In fact, when workers feel overly controlled, supervised, regimented, and bored, they often retaliate with pseudo-stupidity, apparent laziness, carelessness, irresponsibility, and non-cooperation, whereas when workers are free to control, benefit, and profit from their own job-performance, talent, and skills (that is, from their own property), then they display creativity, ingenuity, initiative, productivity, and an attitude of cooperation.

Workers who agitate for "more control over our own jobs" are thus showing a ba-

"It is a myth that social planners know what makes 'people' happy and can deliver a 'good society' if we surrender our rights and incomes to them."

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sically healthy libertarian streak, even though it has been perverted by lack of education about human rights—both their own and others'. The behavior of workers is a variant on the observation that the desire to choose one's own goals and methods is part of human nature.

It follows from Williams's thesis that the reason this is so is that each person has unique capacities and satisfactions which only he can assess. Development of one's unique combination of capacities and satisfaction of one's unique pattern of needs *require* freedom from outside control. Thus, regimentation and serving someone else's goals are destined to cause some degree of frustration, stress, resentment, bitching, diminished performance, and dissatisfaction.

Abraham Maslow, who could readily be regarded as the father of the self-actualization movement, proposed that all human drives and goals result from five *types* of biologically based, universal human needs: the need to meet survival-requirements (food, water, warmth, rest, etc.), the need to feel secure that you can continue to meet your survival needs, the need for companionship, the need for self-esteem, and the need to exercise one's capacities. Capacities are needs. Thus capacities create the drive for "self-actualization." People at all levels of intelligence and talent report profound pleasure when they achieve anything "on their own."

Maslow, like Williams, recognized that the intensities of various needs differ among individuals and vary over time in the same individual, with the variation depending on both genes and circumstances. And like such other non-libertarians as Carl Rogers in psychology and Norman R.F. Maier in management, Maslow ended up by the scientific method (observation) proposing the same law: liberty is a *requirement* for human happiness. The great libertarian thinker, F. A. Harper—who cites Williams's *Free and Unequal* in one of his essays—argues that there are natural laws of proper human interaction just as there are natural laws of gravity, etc., whether or not we have discerned them. For instance, Harper observed that "all conflicts are exclusively problems of abolished liberty." Williams takes the case for liberty to an even deeper level by explaining *why* this occurs: our desire for liberty is based on our need for liberty, which is based on every individual's unique genetic endowment.

Williams points out that much misery is caused by the *mis*interpretation of the statement, "all men are created equal," when equal cannot possibly mean identical or uniform at birth. Among the miseries he discusses are intolerance, and self-doubt starting early in childhood. Chapter titles include "Accounting for Tastes," "Humanly Thinking," "Educational Assembly Line," "When Can We Regiment?" "Find Your Own Food Fad," "The Fallacy of 'The Patient,'" "Religious and Artistic Fits and Misfits," "Races, Peoples, Individuality," and "Individuals and History."

It is no coincidence that a book which makes a case for liberty will simultaneously do additional good things, like helping some readers to become more loving, humble, and self-confident. This is a first-rate book, and I feel deeply grateful to the individuals at Liberty Press for making it available.

Egan O'Connor is a book editor and a graduate student in biochemistry and nutrition. She arrived at libertarianism via her tax-resistance during the Vietnam War and via the anti-nuclear/environmental movement.

Pacifist's progress

GEORGE T. EGGLESTON

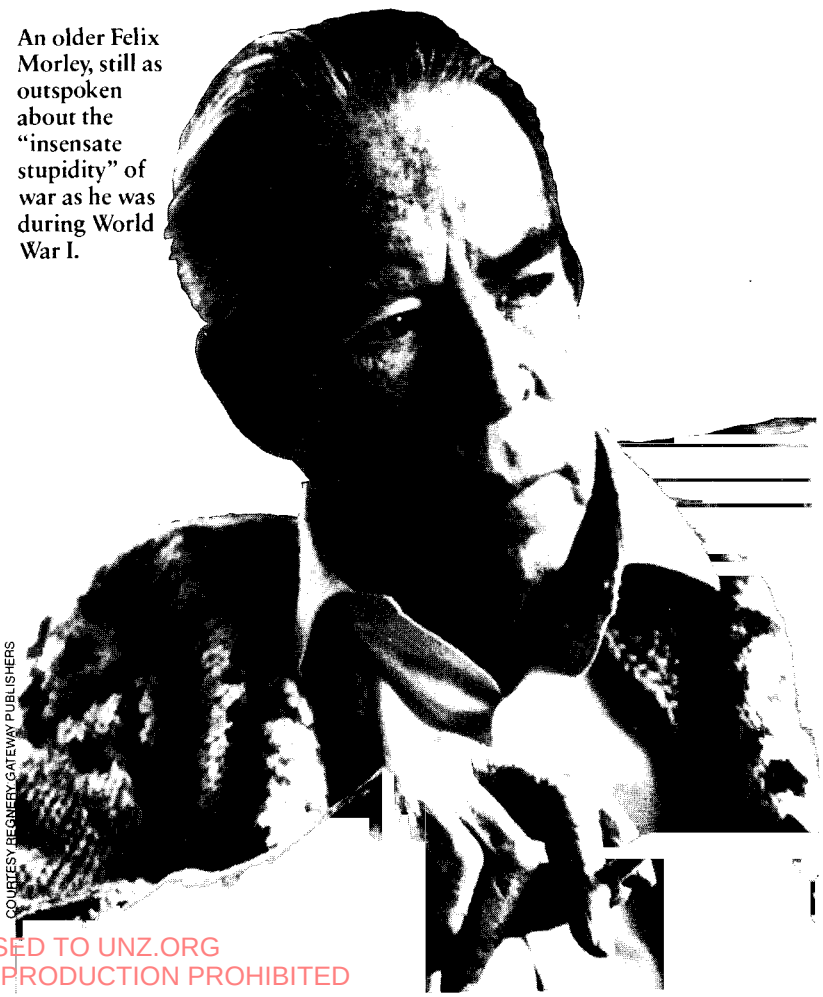
For the Record, *by Felix Morley. Regnery-Gateway Inc., 472 pp., $15.00.*

IN JUNE OF 1915 AT AGE 21, Felix Morley made a major decision of his life. Promptly upon graduation from tiny Quaker Haverford College he sailed for England to join a Friends Ambulance Unit bound for the French front. During the ensuing eleven months of service behind the battle lines much of his work was on ambulance trains carrying the thousands of badly wounded men to base hospitals. "The stream of broken bodies seemed endless," he recalls, and adds, "While some of the experiences had been gruesome, the horrors of war disturbed me less than its insensate stupidity."

Morley writes that when it was arranged for his return to Philadelphia to raise money for the cause, he bade goodbye to his London Quaker friends with "mixed feelings."

While completely undistinguished, the work I had been doing was the more satisfying because purely humanitarian and unaffected by any alloy of narrow patriotism. I had no feeling of duty to the Allied Cause, no hostility towards Germany, and was indeed now certain that the war was for all a horrible blunder. European civilization focused in Britain, France and Germany—three countries with the language, literature and history of which I was at least fairly familiar. These three belligerents had close economic, financial and cultural ties, yet nationalism had driven them into a basically suicidal conflict in which all, except in a meaningless military sense, must necessarily be losers. The best solution of the mess would be a negotiated peace. That was what I intended to argue when I got home.

But when, in that summer



An older Felix Morley, still as outspoken about the "insensate stupidity" of war as he was during World War I.

COURTESY REGNERY GATEWAY PUBLISHERS

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of 1916, idealist Morley arrived home, he soon discovered that America's former pro-neutral stand had made a dramatic shift to pro-Ally sentiment. Some 200 American lives had been lost on merchantmen sunk by U-boats. Moreover, Morley felt that the Allied loans floated in the U.S. would alone cause us to come into the war. He foresaw that the Allies had to emerge from the war victorious or the huge bills they had run up would become just so much wastepaper to greedy creditors in the "Arsenal of Democracy." He was shocked to find that even his Quaker mother believed the tales spread by Allied agents that the Germans were cutting off the hands of male babies in Belgium.

After a stint of lecturing to raise funds for what was to become the American Friends Service Committee Morley landed his first newspaper job—as a reporter on the *Philadelphia Ledger.* At war's end, married, he entered Oxford University on a Rhodes Scholarship Award which had been deferred during the hostilities. Back in America again after Oxford, he joined the staff of *The Baltimore Sun* to pursue a long career in his chosen profession. Morley reached the apogee of his career when the new owner of the *Washington Post,* Eugene Meyer, appointed him editor, a post he filled from 1933 to 1940.

Eugene Meyer, who had served as Governor of the Federal Reserve Board under President Hoover, was admittedly a novice in the newspaper business—but he embraced the ambitious aim that his paper was to achieve national significance. The new editor had an even wider aim. He had the "secret ambition" to make the paper an American version of the *Manchester Guardian:* "That is to say its outlook should be international; its philosophy independent and liberal in the classical sense — its adherence to strictly Constitutional government unquestionable." A series of Morley editorials advocating a sane and equitable approach to foreign policy attracted widespread attention, as well as profuse congratulations from Publisher Meyer when a Pulitzer Prize was conferred upon his editor.

It was during the late 1930s, as Morley studied the inner workings of the New Deal, that he became totally disillusioned with, and distrustful of, Franklin D. Roosevelt. He foresaw the coming struggle for mastery over Central Europe and was fearful that FDR would so maneuver the great power of the United States as to tip the balance in favor of Russia—and the spread of Communism. By early 1940 he could also foresee that nothing sharply critical of governmental decree would be possible with an inevitable wartime censorship on the horizon. Once hostilities were joined his role would be "all too close to intellectual prostitution." After not much soul searching he resigned his position on the *Post* and accepted a long-standing offer to return to the campus of Haverford College as president. The return to the campus had a strong sentimental attraction for him. His father had held the Chair of Mathematics at Haverford for many years; there he had been born and there his parents had died and were buried.

The Haverford Board of Managers, dovish on U.S. participation in the war, had made it clear to the new president that they hoped he would alert the campus *dispassionately* to the momentous events evolving. He soon found to his surprise that a small minority of his professors were anything but dispassionate on the European war. The leader of this group, Canadian-born Professor of English Literature Dr. Leslie Hotsun, was an ardent Bundles for Britain enthusiast and was actively engaged in sending messages on Haverford stationery to Congressmen and Senators, plugging for Lend-Lease. When Pennsylvania Senator James J. Davis sent a wire to Morley asking, "Is this an illustration of Quaker pacificism?" the president placed it on the college bulletin board for all to see — and Hotsun indignantly resigned from the faculty. On the night following the resignation an enormous banner of bedsheets covered the front of the largest dormitory spelling out the words "Bundle Leslie back to Britain."

Thanks to his long tenure as *Post* editor Morley had access to almost anyone of importance in Washington, and often called at the State Department. When he learned through a news leak that there was a secret "Roosevelt Plan" of April 1941 to recruit U.S. Army and Navy pilots as mercenaries to serve with Chinese Nationalist forces against Japan—and through a dummy organization receive a bonus of $500.00 for each Japanese plane shot down, he was astounded by the "outright violation of U.S. neutrality" such a proposal involved. He forthwith arranged a visit with his long-time acquaintance, Ambassador Admiral Nomura.

Following a long talk at the Japanese Embassy he immediately called on Secretary of State Cordell Hull and relayed the gist of Nomura's views, which added up to the hope that all matters of dispute with the U.S. could be peacefully reconciled if reasonably discussed on the highest levels.

Morley's session with Hull on the subject was brief. The Secretary was too preoccupied with other affairs to do more than listen, and put Morley's notes in his file-and-forget drawer. Sadly, Morley jotted in his journal that from this moment on he realized that war with Japan was certain. He was not surprised on December 7, 1941.

With war declared he felt that despite its strong pacifist convictions Haverford College, as a tax exempt institution, must dutifully accept facts and join in the common effort. The many contacts Morley maintained in Washington were now useful in helping him seek peaceful opportunities for the college to serve. One non-combat assignment filled by many Haverford draftees was entry into the soon very hazardous service on merchant shipping lines.

Haverford's president could point with pride to the

COMING SOON IN LR

Jeff Riggenbach on Marijuana

Doug Bandow on the F.T.C.

Joan Kennedy Taylor on Nat Hentoff's First Amendment

Bill Birmingham on Noam Chomsky

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fact that the college survived the war years with a surplus of money in the bank and a high spirit of morale enjoyed by Board Managers and faculty. And now he had once again become restless for a change. After several unsolicited offers came to Morley's attention during a single year he noted in his diary, "It is not my ambition, nor would it help Haverford for me to sink into old age here."

Two possibilities seemed most attractive. He could serve as diplomatic correspondent in Washington for the *Wall Street Journal*, writing signed articles and an occasional editorial. Or he could join his friend Frank C. Hanighen in launching, editing and publishing an outspoken weekly newsletter with special appeal for advocates of a reasonable, non-punitive and lasting peace. He chose the latter and named the paper *Human Events* after the resounding words in the opening of the Declaration of Independence.

During his distinguished career in journalism and as an academician Felix Morley maintained a continuing close friendship with Herbert Hoover. He and the former president had watched with anxiety as country after country around the world put Marxist theory into practice. Both Hoover and Morley foresaw, as did men of vision in all the Western Democracies, that Franklin D. Roosevelt's all-out tilt toward Stalinist Russia in June of 1941 started America on a long rough road—with the end so far out of sight as still to be invisible today.

It is to be hoped that this revealing and fascinating autobiography will be made available in college libraries throughout America.

George T. Eggleston is a former editor of *Life* and *Reader's Digest*. His most recent book is *Roosevelt, Churchill, and the World War II Opposition* (Devin-Adair, 1979).

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Alan Arkin, as a junior professor who is brainwashed into thinking he is from outer space, in *Simon*, a "savage parody of what passes for normality" in this culture.

On View

Freaks

DAVID BRUDNOY

THE TWO-HEADED BOY with fish scales and a tail, or some variation on that theme, is a staple at the circus, but less so in the movies, to which we go not in search of freaks but for validation of ourselves. The cinema makes rare, and rarely successful, stabs at showing the weirder sides of life, usually reducing the portrayals to the stuff of cult films—*Pink Flamingoes, The Rocky Horror Picture Show*—or to the occult and science fiction genres, stuff like "The Blob That Ate Detroit and Married Frankenstein's Mother-in-law." Lately, however, and maybe this reflects our growing acceptance of freak-like creatures gallivanting around the country in hot pursuit of our love and votes, the movies are devoting their attention to somewhat more interesting portrayals of the bizarre. Herewith, something of a shopping list of the latest such ventures.

Best Boy tells, with tremendous compassion and concern, of the life and hard times of a child of 52. Philly Wohl is severely retarded, a sweet-tempered, harmless but nearly helpless fellow, living with his aged parents all his life save for a brief and unsuccessful stay at a state home for people like him. His cousin, Ira Wohl, set out both to record Philly's daily routine and gently to nudge Philly's parents to acceptance of the desperate need to prepare their son for the day when he would be without them to care for him. His mother, Pearl, tells us that "if God wants to punish somebody, He should do it with retarded children. Such heartache, you wouldn't believe. Such heartache."

But you would, you do, believe Pearl, and Max her 78-year-old husband, Philly's father, who dies during the period covered by the movie; and you believe Philly, struggling to be useful—he is tops at scrubbing pots and pans — and just as energetically struggling to learn and to coexist with others like him when at last the family lets him leave the nest and attend a day-care vocational center and, later, a summer camp for the retarded. Because the film was made not by a prying stranger, but by one of Philly's relations, a man who loves his cousin and took great care not to exploit him, *Best Boy* never sinks (or rises) to the level of detached documentary. It opens us to an intimate portrait of a guileless simple fellow, only for a very few minutes permits us to see him at his worst, and leaves us with a more compelling understanding of the lot of the retarded than any but a handful of film or television studies has ever accomplished.

The movie never permits us either to feel safely supe-

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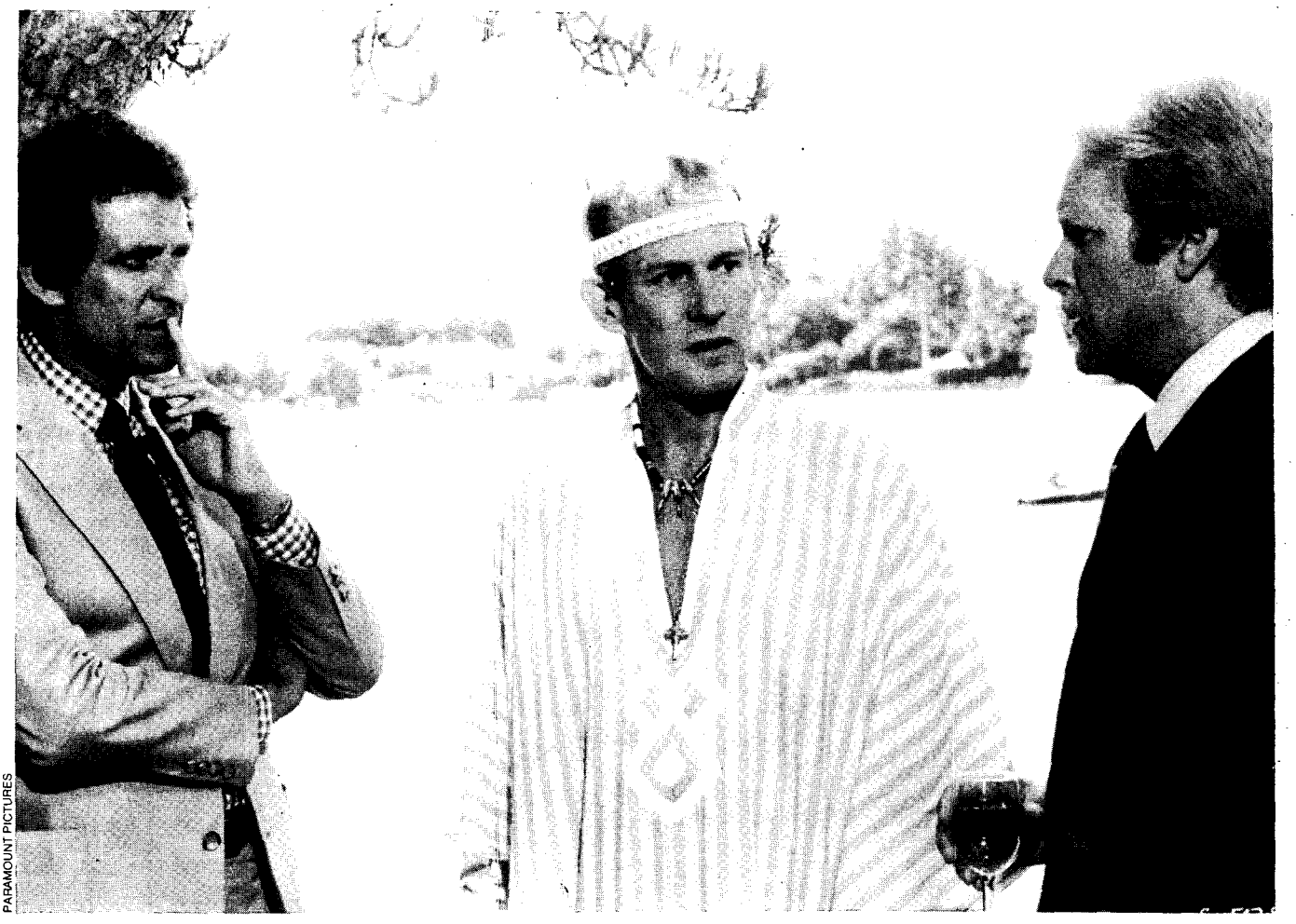

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(left to right) Peter Bonerz, Tom Smothers, and Martin Mull, three of the "sanctified loonies" in *The Serial*'s version of Marin County, California, the nurturing ground of Psychobabble, and "egocenter of the personal space."

rior to this innocent, or to feel immune to the plight of his family. There but for the grace of God, and all that: *Best Boy* shows us a person who is commonly considered a freak, and its genius is that he becomes for the viewer not a freak but a friend. His is the most stereotypical of New York Jewish families—Philly even talks, unselfconsciously, of the "goy" who helped him learn to cross the street by himself—and much of its humor derives from the same material that such as Woody Allen have learned so brilliantly to satirize. In this movie, however, the satire is in short supply, the straight reportage in abundance. Pearl's "best boy" becomes irresistibly attractive to us, as his present and future condition becomes crushingly heartwrenching. We laugh with him, we cry for him, we hope for him, we exult with him when, permitted to visit Zero Mostel backstage, the two sing one of Philly's favorites, "If I Were A Rich Man." Philly *is* a rich man, rich in human grace, if cruelly cheated by a capricious Nature of his due share of unimpaired brain.

Simon

Simon Mendelssohn is the first screen character created entirely by Marshall Brickman, Woody Allen's longtime collaborator. *Simon* tells of a simple, struggling junior professor whose name pops out of the infallible computer lodged at a think tank run by the five most brilliant and twisted men in America, the fellows who substituted a fake Nixon for the real Nixon in China (how could anybody tell the difference?), who rigged the TV Nielsen ratings, who in their idleness dream up ways to confound the world. Bored and imaginative, the five decide to foist upon the world a creature from outer space, and Simon becomes the creature—after they have tampered with his memory and his bodily fluids. But while Simon becomes the first universally accepted specimen of an alien in our midst, his weirdness reduces only to enormous common sense, to a passionate commitment to rid the world of homely grotesqueries like Muzak and hand drying machines instead of paper towels in public lavatories, whereas *our* weirdness comes in for near-savage parody. Escaping his makers and tormentors, the twisted five and the Army, Simon takes refuge in an ashram devoted to worship of the sacred box, the television set, a cult whose gospel is *TV Guide*, and whose worship anthem is the Campbell Soup song. Um mm good—both *Simon* the movie and the kick to our collective national, perhaps international, groin. As Simon Mendelssohn takes charge of the airwaves by appearing simultaneously each night on each of the networks' evening news, he manages nearly without effort to insinuate himself into the lives of his countrymen, who cannot exist without their daily dose of Cronkite, or, as happens, of Simon from space. Brickman tosses Simon at us to ensnare and then to rib us mercilessly; *he*, the freak, is shown to be the only normal man alive, while the brains and the powers are clearly seen as monsters, and we peons are unequivocally depicted as morons. *Simon* is a disquieting comedy, remarkable enough as a compendium of in-jokes and beautifully realized vignettes, even more remarkable as a slash at

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what passes for normality.

Serial

Serial asks only that we take Marin County, California, as a synecdoche of American trendiness, as the place whence Psychobabble spreads outward to America, as the egocenter of the personal space. A collection of self-absorbed and discontented young marrieds live by the shrink, pray with the Reverend Spike (Tom Smothers) of the chic environmentalist concerns, and hop from bed to bed in relentless pursuit of the perfect fuck or at least the better lay. *Serial* plays it as it lays, and in its broad sweep across the nauseating landscape of valuelessness manages to touch, with greater or lesser degrees of perception, on the love-thy-convert cults, on the precocious child as foul-mouthed monster syndrome, on the adoringly accepted adultery that passes for open marriage, on the crazes of a nation more concerned about sperm whales and snail darters than about the minds of the crazies who are its citizens. It even allows us one suicide (Bill Macy) to remind us of the price these "swingers" pay, in return for which we are obliged to squirm to the exploits of the golden ones (Martin Mull, Tuesday Weld, Sally Kellerman, among them), to recoil from the arrogant, superstraight talent hunter who weekends as a homosexual biker (Christopher Lee), and, at its best, to wonder how soon this paradigm of sanctified looniness will ooze out of California and drown us all. As we are in *Simon* so are we in *Serial:* the meat for steak tartare.

Nijinsky

Loathsome is the only word for the lizards populating *Nijinsky,* a soap opera purporting to document the tale of a great dancer, his lover-mentor, Diaghilev, and his reasons for going bonkers. Even Alan Bates (as Diaghilev), whom few actors of our day can match, much less better, gives the appearance of wishing he could walk straight (no pun) off the screen and into another movie. George de la Peña, who dances nicely enough and looks pretty enough to engage the attentions of Diaghilev, seems to be the nearest thing to a non-freak the movie has to offer, for all that his Nijinsky comes to us at the top and at the bottom of the movie sitting, quite mad, in an insane asylum. Herbert Ross, who provided lovely dance and insufferable posturing in *The Turning Point,* here inexplicably shortchanges us in dance and bludgeons us with freaks who preen in lieu of acting, who spew forth witticisms that Oscar Wilde would have spurned even if rushed, and who leave the moviegoer with the inescapable impression that homosexuals are incorrigibly bizarre. Oddly enough, gay people who have been frothing about *Cruising* appear not to have twigged to the fact that *Nijinsky* is an infinitely more insulting film.

Its utility, however limited, is its brutality — not the brutality of S and M frolic, but the brutality of psychological sadism. These sometimes idle, sometimes oh-so-busy paragons of fashion and decadence are engaged in the relentless quest for a new thrill. The one truly interesting character in the movie is the Baron de Gunzberg, done by Alan Badel as a chap so unpleased by his own reflection in the mirror that messing up the lives of others consumes his every waking moment. In and out of the movie the baron floats, dropping money as he drops epithets, wishing somebody might love him for him, knowing that nobody ever will. While the dancer and the impressario fume and fuss and throw tantrums, the baron merely despises himself. Badel's performance is priceless. He is the exact opposite, as far as advantages go, of Philly Wohl, and certainly nobody's best boy, or best queen, or best anything; but he is Philly Wohl's mirror image as a freak of Nature.

Caligula

In between the nearly nonstop orgiastic writhings that comprise the most memorable feature of *Caligula,* we are tempted by an occasional scene showing what Gore Vidal, who worked on the original screenplay and then ran horrified from the final product and removed his name from the abortion, had in mind: a gargantuan film attempting a serious portrait of one of the several vicious freaks who came to power in strutting Rome. Roddy McDowell has made a career out of such loathsome fellows and surely belongs in (though he doesn't appear in) the film: instead his namesake (and non-relation) Malcolm McDowell does. McDowell's cuckoo-bird emperor races back and forth between ludicrous fits of hyena laughter and quick bits of poignant, sometimes powerful introspection. I suppose *Caligula,* at $17 million, will bring *Penthouse* publisher Bob Guccione a handsome return on his investment—be prepared to shell out $7.50 for a ticket in New York — and will gratify those looking for a thousand pubic areas, two hundred penises, a couple dozen fellatios, now and again a castration, here and there a disembowelment, a few decapitations, and all the writhing that money can buy.

PARAMOUNT PICTURES

George de la Peña stars in *Nijinsky*, a soap opera populated by freaks and lizards, and which is infinitely more insulting to gays than *Cruising*.

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Melvyn Douglas, "the deliciously unappetizing Senator Carmichael," in *The Changeling,* "the sleekest and most satisfying horror movie in years." George C. Scott also stars.

But at most the movie, to whatever extent it makes itself felt in the general population, will merely confirm the suspicion (and politically useful lie of the ultra-right-wingers) that Rome fell because Romans screwed every which way including up. I saw *Serial,* with its guilt-ridden orgy scene, just a few days before *Caligula,* with its approximately one and a half hours (of two and a half hours of film) of energetic orgiastic overkill, and the thought pressed itself rather firmly on my by then exhausted brain, that I and most of the people I know are obviously hopelessly out of shape, and, moreover, that there really isn't much new under the sun. These are hardly thoughts pregnant with possibility, but they are at least sensations containing a glimmer of understanding of what the movies seem best able to achieve when they aim at the depiction of freakishness. Commercially successful movies evidently work hardest to induce in their victims (us) a simultaneous feeling of guilt and envy—we want to be down there getting it too, but we are too relentlessly "moral" to try—and a thunderously self-righteous rejection of what we're seeing. So we know what *those* people are doing when they should be carrying home the groceries or conquering Gaul, and since we *do* carry home the groceries and conquer villages in backward countries, we must be normal and they must be freaks. Elementary.

Jesus

Speaking of the glory and cruelty that was Rome, *Jesus,* which comes to us as an "inspirational film presentation of a Genesis Project production," whatever that means, remains true to its promise, to present the story without embellishment or falsification—which means that we receive a hefty chunk of Luke, nothing from Jesus's mouth that doesn't appear in that gospel, and a perfectly hideous crucifixion. As a bemused observer of a religion not my own I have ever wondered what possesses hundreds of millions of people to put such holy stress on the most brutal slaughter of a man imaginable (or if not *the* most brutal, surely one of the most). Brian Deacon, poster perfect as Christ, perfectly, *Britishly,* enunciating each word, makes of his role, and consequently of the film, a satisfactory cinema depiction of a story that has usually been mauled insensibly on screen. But he comes alive, so to speak, only when he dies. Is it more freakish to snuff out lives as the Romans did, or so adoringly to focus on that execution when constructing the central elements of a great world religion?

The Wicker Man

The same question is asked between the lines in *The Wicker Man,* an uinintentionally comic film about the clash between Christianity and paganism. The setting is a proprietary island off the coast of Scotland, benignly presided over by Lord Summerisle (Christopher Lee)—an island long since returned to "the old faith" and no longer interested in the faith of the gospels. The crop having failed the year before, this island's people set about to propitiate the old gods by offering a juicy human sacrifice. The lamb is a devout Christian police sergeant (Edward Woodward), who is lured to the island and toyed with until at length he is locked into a huge wicker idol and set terminally afire. As the islanders sing their merry little ditty to the sun god and the goddess of fertility, the victim sings a thunderous Christian anthem and sizzles.

Along the way the conflict between two True Faiths is run in and around prettily photographed scenery and luscious depictions of carnal festivity. While the sergeant sputters in rage, the island's children gambol at the May pole and correctly explain its meaning—it *is,* after all, a phallic symbol, whatever the Puritans wished to make of it—and the island's older children copulate with their elders' blessing. *The Wicker Man* triumphs even over the sight of Christopher Lee in a fright wig, plausibly demonstrating the preferability of

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honest heathenism to guilt-ridden Judeo-Christian (as we timidly and mock-ecumenically are instructed to call it) "morality." Any theologically pretentious movie that allows us several minutes of Britt Ekland, naked, bumping and grinding to entice the stuffed-shirt Christian, has at least certain visual appeal. That *The Wicker Man* makes little of its supposed theme, the preservation even in modern times of pagan observance, is a pity, since even the triumph of "primitivism" over Episcopalianism, devoutly to be desired at least once in a movie, doesn't rescue the bulk of the film from ludicrousness. Who's the freak in this? The Lord Summerisle or Sergeant Howie? More like birds of a feather.

The Changeling

The Changeling is haunted house standard, but it is wonderfully imagined nonetheless. A grieving composer/professor (George C. Scott), just recovering from the death of his wife and daughter, moves to Seattle, rents a big house, and soon is made unmistakably aware of the presence of something beside himself therein. The something turns out to be the restless soul of a slaughtered child. We get the picture at a splendidly scary seance and (in the modern vein) on the prof's tape recording of that table thumping night. As the story unfolds, we realize along with the protagonist that the wealthy Senator Carmichael (Melvyn Douglas) is a changeling, his father a killer decades ago, and the victim a relentlessly vindictive little fellow indeed.

The problem with this sort of horror movie, of course, is its double task: it has at once to be frightening enough to give us thrills, and plausible enough so that we won't want to spend the night at home alone. In that, *The Changeling* comes up against a mighty obstacle. We are, after all, sophisticated . . . and so we don't believe in this nonsense, not really. And we wonder why the ghost has waited from 1906, when he was untimely ripped from life, until the 1970s before manifesting himself (or itself) to one of a succession of occupants of the house. That's always the case, figuring out why the nastiness breaks out just then, just when the movie takes place. Forget it; *The Changeling* is the sleekest and most satisfying movie of its type in the last couple of years, and it fits nicely here in this shopping list not only because its supernatural ingredients are freakish but also because its bad guy is so deliciously unappetizing. The senator, as Douglas does him, probably doesn't even know that he's the beneficiary of a 70-year-old murder, but he is sufficiently venal in any case. We don't know if he votes the wrong way, but lordy he comes equipped with his entourage of proto-Hamilton Jordans, and the trappings of power falling on his frail shoulders ought to be frightening enough to Americans finally beginning to get the point about our national horror. Our national horror is our willing acceptance of a concentration of power in the hands not just of the wrong people but of any people. Compared to that, an avenging spirit haunting a spooky house is a mere trifle. ❑

LR's film critic reviews films weekly for *The Boston Herald American*, twice weekly for WHDH Radio, and daily for WNAC-TV (CBS), all in Boston. He is the host of talk programs on both stations, writes a thrice-weekly newspaper column, and reviews books for a number of journals. He is also Deputy Sheriff of Middlesex County (Massachusetts).
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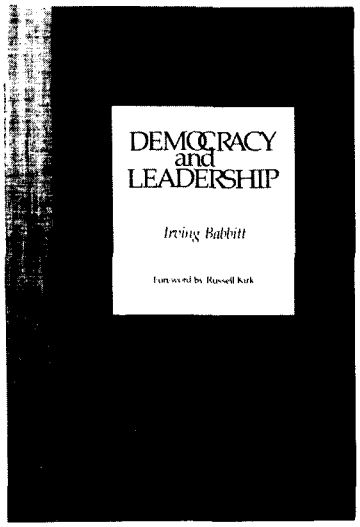

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If you've never joined the Libertarian Party, there are 1980 reasons why you should.

1980. The year in which the Republican candidate for President will support the growing "partnership" between government and business in the name of "free enterprise" . . . will favor increasing our already bloated military spending and risk plunging America into total war . . . will want to raise more trade barriers . . . will softpedal First Amendment rights for the sake of "national security."

1980. The year in which the Democratic candidate for President will lead us toward new heights of inflation and taxes . . . will favor more energy controls . . . will urge national health insurance . . . will promise welfare programs which perpetuate poverty and racism . . . will address the American people as "resources" instead of as individuals with basic rights.

1980. The year in which Ed Clark and Libertarian candidates for state and local offices nationwide are challenging the very premises of the Two Party System and presenting principled, practical alternative solutions which neither Republicans nor Democrats have the courage to consider.

1980. The year in which voters will find a Libertarian slate on the ballot in *every* state. The year in which we will be heard, loud and clear, again and again. The year in which the Libertarian alternative will become a permanent part of the political scene.

1980. The opportunity is now. We can make the difference. If you help.

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